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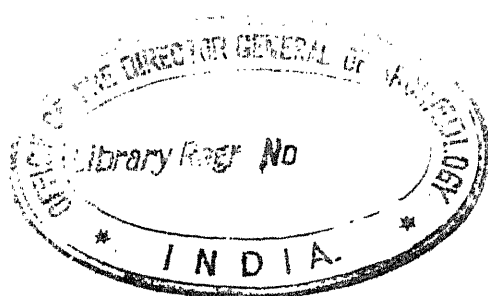
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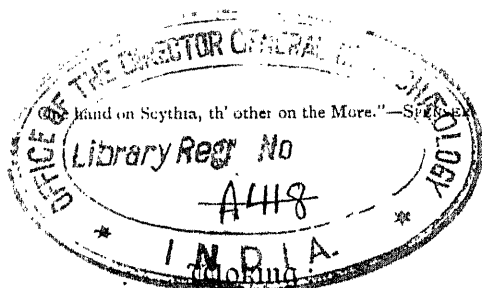
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THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1903.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM OF SOCIAL  
INTERCOURSE.\*

By C. W. WHISH (LATE I.C.S.).

THIS subject is second to none in importance as affecting the welfare of India. Indeed, I think the question of social intercourse might be described as the most important of all Indian questions. It is certainly a matter of great difficulty and delicacy, and has, I think, given rise in the past to a good deal of pessimism and hopelessness on the part of well-wishers of the Great Peninsula, both European and Indian.

I hope to be able to show that this pessimism is uncalled for, and that the outlook contains very great promise for the future. But in undertaking such a task it is necessary to tell the truth, and to those who sincerely desire to do their duty to their country and to their race the truth can never be unwelcome, though it may sometimes seem unpalatable for the moment. I have most carefully endeavoured in what follows to avoid giving offence to anyone. If, however, I should unfortunately have failed in any instance, I nevertheless hope that my utterances may be attributed to a sincere desire for the welfare of India, and a yearning to see her great, prosperous, and contented, and at once contributing to, and receiving from, the accumulated glories of the British Empire. I want to explain why our subject is so important.

\* - See the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review* for discussion on this paper.

When my attention was first directed, after about ten years of service in India, to the enormous mass of problems affecting the vital interests of the people which were awaiting solution in the future, I became profoundly impressed with the vastness and gravity of the task which lies before the British nation, in guiding the response of India to the flood of new ideas being poured in upon her from the West.

I read an article a short time ago which most vividly impressed me, and the burden of which was an attempt to arouse Europe to a sense of her responsibility, if by her course of action she represses and hinders the spontaneous development of Eastern civilization. Surely the proper way to avoid any such heavy responsibility as this is for the West not only to foster all indigenous developments, but to do her best to guide the East in assimilating the new theories to which Western culture may give rise.

Probably one of the greatest dangers is that a nation, growing under this double set of influences, may be tempted to go too fast.

It was under the motive power of thoughts like these, crude and undeveloped as they probably were, that I first took up the subject of social reform. I began with two subjects in particular—excessive marriage expenses among Hindus, and excessive funeral expenses among Mahomedans; and in the district in which I was actually serving obtained, I think, a certain measure of success in checking this extravagance, the ruinous consequences of which were patent to every eye, in the business that came before the public offices. Mr. Byramji Malabari followed with his social reform tour, and the lasting result of these efforts is seen in the Caste Sabhas, which brought into play influences which we had perhaps too much ignored. I think they have done a great deal of good. Public opinion at the time was strongly against anything which could be construed as official interference with social customs. The only alternative influence was evidently social intercourse between leaders of Indian society and Europeans, who, on the principle of

outsiders seeing most of the game, could perceive most clearly the pernicious character of certain social customs, and suggest methods of improvement.

And if social intercourse is of such vital importance as a reforming agency, it is none the less so from other points of view, which may have as great, or even greater, claims upon our consideration. The principal object to be compassed is a political one.

Until cordial social relationship between rulers and ruled in India becomes more general, one of the most effectual means of discovering how administrative measures affect the people will be absent. In nearly all countries those in power are brought constantly into social contact with persons whose welfare is, directly or indirectly, affected by their acts. If Governors do not come directly into actual contact with the masses, they at all events meet representative individuals through whom they can ascertain the feelings of the community. Without going so far as to say that pressure of any kind is exercised, natural good feeling must prompt public men to shape their policy so as to secure general contentment as far as may be. Besides this important desideratum, the grave need for such influences in India, and their deplorable absence, will, I think, be universally admitted. What I mean is, that, besides the necessity of gauging popular feeling, some softening and ameliorating agency is much to be desired. It seems scarcely necessary to say more in advocacy of the urgent claims of our subject upon attention. But it might be added that social intercourse is the only palliative of that terrible obstacle to progress which we all regret—the inability of Europeans and Asiatics to understand each other. I must confess that I had become somewhat pessimistic as to the possibility of bridging the great, and apparently impassable, gulf between East and West. But of late the horizon has cleared a little, and there does seem some chance of adopting practical measures towards the great end. It will be necessary, I think, to

consider the subject from the following points of view, if our deliberations are to help us towards some definite programme of action. We must inquire what impediments there are to cordial relationship between the two races, both in India and in this country, and we must frame some practical proposals for counteracting these influences, and we must look at these questions from the point of view of both races.

Before entering into details, it will be advisable to consider what general causes mostly hinder members of a common humanity from finding points of sympathetic contact. The two principal causes are, I think, prejudice of all kinds, and that unfortunate disposition to look rather at the worst than at the best side of each other's character, which is found in too many individuals of the human race. The prejudice which hinders the Briton from cordial social relationship with the Hindus and Mahomedans whom he meets in India is principally racial and religious. I think if people would look at these matters from a broad point of view, and with that full knowledge which results from introspection into the secret springs of human feeling and action, that they would cease to be surprised at the difficulties which surround the subject.

Making every allowance for the effect of education in minimizing such feelings, there is probably a lurking disposition in any enthusiastic follower of any religion to regard those outside the pale as objects of shrinking and detestation. Similarly, every race has a tendency to regard every other as a barbarian.

Working along with these influences is the deplorable tendency above noted to fasten upon the evil instead of upon the good.

If we are straightforward and admit these things, we shall see where our difficulty lies, and what measures can be taken to produce a better state of things. But if we ignore and gloss them over, the remedies that we devise will not go to the root of the matter, and will probably fail of lasting effect. I would earnestly implore my readers to

bear in mind that if in what follows I say anything to offend their susceptibilities, it is only from a sincere conviction that, unless the truth is told, it is useless to treat of the subject at all.

#### CAUSES HINDERING CORDIAL RELATIONSHIP IN INDIA.

Let us now consider what is wanting in the general attitude of Europeans in India. In the first place, I do not think that Englishmen generally feel half the pride that they ought to feel in looking at the educated Indian as the direct product of their rule in India. I shall probably be laughed at for this enthusiasm, but I do think that every Britisher should swell with pride in finding that the educated Indian can now take his place beside him on the Bench, at the Bar, in the consulting-room, the studio, and the laboratory, and last, but not least, with the sword in his hand fighting the common enemies of their country.

To descend a little further into details it is necessary to remark that nearly every Englishman in India is an official. An official ought always to remember that he is really only the servant of the public, and has no right to arrogate to himself attributes of intrinsic superiority. At the same time he should lose no opportunity of "magnifying his office," and if he makes himself the real friend of the people, and confers on them the innumerable benefits that his office enables him to dispense, he will have no occasion to resort to artificial means to secure respect, and I might almost add reverential affection.

We most commonly see the European official in India holding a kind of levee, at which are presented to him the members of the native aristocracy residing within his jurisdiction.

I have often thought that one way in which the official could and should magnify his office is by directing the conversation away from trivial topics to matters which it is all important for the administrator to find out. How are the measures of Government affecting the people? Are there any subordinate officials who are abusing their position, and

using the resistless power of the Government in an oppressive manner? Of course, the official will say that it is the want of public spirit on the part of his Indian visitors which prevents the possibility of gleaning such important information from them.

But should not the official say to himself, "It is my business to inspire such confidence in my informants that they may feel sure that their names will never be divulged as tale-bearers when their only object is the public good. I may be removed to another position to-morrow, and the corrupt officials will remain to make their lives a burden to any who may have dared to expose their misdoings." Again, the Englishman in India does not sufficiently consider how extremely sensitive an Indian gentleman is to indignity or slight, and should take special precautions that he may not be exposed to them.

The proposal of some practical measures towards this end belongs to the next and concluding section.

I need scarcely say that the European should be too sensible and magnanimous to take offence at anything he may not understand in the conduct of his Indian visitor, and be assured that if he (the European) is conscientiously trying to do his duty, it will never spring from any feeling to which he can justly take exception. I read with pain the other day an article in which an Englishman complained that his Indian visitor was excluded from his own zenana until the garment in which he had paid the visit had been changed! He ought surely to have known that nobody probably deplored the necessity more than the visitor himself, who was obliged to make this concession to the prejudices of the ladies of his family—prejudices which, under existing circumstances, it is hopeless to expect them to overcome all at once.

Let us now look a little at what seem to be faults on the Indian side. In the first place, Indian gentlemen are too sensitive, and often imagine slights where they are never intended. In the second place, I do not think that they value intercourse with Europeans as much as they ought to

do. Many non-official Europeans in India have complained to me of the unwillingness of Indians to visit them, which they have attributed to the fact that the Indians had nothing to fear or to gain from them. I sincerely trust this was not the sole reason for the omission. I have hinted above that a serious dereliction of duty takes place when Indian visitors to English officials in India do not help the latter to find out what is going on under the surface of things.

Then I must say that in India especially educated Indians often expect too much. They forget, in complaining of not being received on terms of social equality, that their relatives at least, if not themselves, may be in such subordinate official positions as to make such equality impossible. Sometimes also Indians do not meet efforts to promote social intercourse half-way. I have known of a club, got up by a sympathetic European, the success of which was marred by opposition on the part of those for whose benefit it was intended. I have also heard it made matter of complaint on the part of Europeans that the local heads of Indian society are disinclined to approach them at all.

#### CAUSES HINDERING CORDIAL RELATIONSHIP IN ENGLAND.

The charges that we can lay to the European side are not so numerous as on the other continent. Generally I would say that people in this country do not look upon Indian visitors to their shores in the light of guests as much as they ought to do. They should, I think, go out of their way to show hospitality to such visitors, and to assist as far as possible in making their sojourn here a pleasant one. Beyond this I do not think there is much to complain of, for Indian gentlemen are, as a rule, astonished at the change for the better that takes place in us when we reach our own country! I might add that we should always remember that Indians naturally would like to be received on terms of perfect equality, and anything like patronizing would be resented. I do not mean to say that any English-

man would consciously adopt such an attitude, but any disposition to do so unconsciously must be carefully guarded against.

I do not think that anything serious can be said against the Indian attitude in this country, except, perhaps, that sufficient allowance is not made for English reserve in making new acquaintances, and the general difficulties of the situation.

We now come to the most important part of the subject—viz., the practical proposals that can be made for improving the situation and counteracting the evil influences above alluded to. It will tend to clear ideas, I think, if we subdivide the section as above into what may be done both in India and England. But before doing so, I have one general proposition to make which is not subject to any limitations either of space or any other description. I think we should all make determined and continuous efforts to eradicate racial and religious prejudices from our minds, and to fight against the sister evil of fastening upon the worst side of another person's character. I do not think that such suggestions are unpractical. It is astonishing what a change anybody may produce in both life and character by persistent effort of this kind. I think the proper word for fixed ideas of this nature is "obsession," and it is recognised in psychological science as a species of disease. We have to recognise the evil effects of these prepossessions, and to bear constantly before our minds the necessity of fighting against them.

#### *In India.*

First, I cannot help thinking that something more might be done by the official leaders of society in India to welcome those Indians who, by efforts the magnitude of which it is difficult for us to realize, have qualified themselves for admission into cultured circles.

Ought not a portion at least of the social gatherings organized at every Government House to be specially planned for the reception of educated Indians? It might be possible to invite only those Europeans who are interested

and pleased in Indian society, and the circle of these would be sure to widen as time went on.

Then on some national festival—say the King's birthday—ought not the official head of society in every district to hold a reception to which all the principal native residents of the district could be invited? Refreshments, amusements, and the selection of the individuals to be asked, could be arranged by a committee of native gentlemen so as to give perfect satisfaction to everybody present. Their tact and innate knowledge of what ought to be done is entirely to be relied on in such matters. It is impossible to appraise the actual results of such measures. But will anybody deny that the periodical recurrence of these gatherings, if they took place all over India on the same day, would have an enormous political effect, and tend greatly to produce that cordial relationship between the two races which we all so greatly desire?

Thirdly, could not British officials devise some plan by which the visits they receive from the native aristocracy could be rendered more pleasant and attractive? I have often thought that a highly placed official should have a room in his house specially devoted to the use of his Indian visitors. Books and papers might be supplied, and even refreshments, and a servant, official or private, told off for attendance on the guests. It would be well if the official, in the appointment or selection of this servant, could be guided by the wishes of his visitors themselves.

In this way only can perfect immunity be guaranteed from those slights and indignities which do so much to scare the native aristocracy away from the official reception-room. It would be possible in this way for an official to receive every day, and not at stated times, which is very unpopular. Should the official be busy and unable to do more than give a look into the reception-room and a general greeting all round, his visitors would be perfectly satisfied. If he wished to speak privately to any individual on any matter, I do not think that the others would be in

the least jealous. Such measures are not likely to be generally adopted, but some device for making these receptions more popular is loudly called for.

On the question of eating and drinking together I do not say much. Such matters seem to me better left alone, although great progress seems to have been made in this direction in such places as Aligarh and Hyderabad.

There is one thing, however, which I *should* like to say in this connection, and that is that English families resident in India, whether in an official capacity or otherwise, might receive with more readiness on their visiting list those Indians who have reached a general standard of conduct demanded by English society. This would be a great inducement to those who had not yet so qualified to attain this standard, and such influences might become extremely powerful for good.

Although this subject does not fall strictly within the category of social intercourse, a word is demanded about general accessibility. I have always thought that anybody, however lowly in station, ought to be able to obtain a hearing in private if desired. It is said that the Emperor Jehangir had a golden bell by which he could be summoned to give audience to any of his subjects. I have no doubt that some underling made this a golden bell in more than one sense of the word! But the moral effect of such an arrangement was, doubtless, very great. By a little tact and forethought an official can guard against such facilities being abused.

I do not think I can suggest very much that Indians can do in their native land towards our object, except to avoid what has been laid to their charge under the head of "hindrances." One somewhat delicate subject I must touch upon, because it is so intimately bound up with the reception of Indians into English society. European ladies are, for obvious reasons which cannot be fully explained in a public place, extraordinarily sensitive as to the demeanour of Indian gentlemen towards them. They would probably

demand a higher standard of courtesy and chivalry than in the case of their own fellow-countrymen. Indian gentlemen should, I think, try not to resent this, but to live up to its most exacting requirements; they will scarcely lose anything in such an endeavour.

*In England.*

At home the most urgent matter seems to open up as many opportunities to Indians as possible of enjoying the charm of English home-life at its best. Besides the direct social results, we should thus widen the area of interest in Indian affairs, and possibly do something towards guiding Indian thought on political matters on safe lines.

Periodical social gatherings, at which the attendance of as large a number of Indian visitors as possible should be arranged for to meet members of Parliament and other influential persons, are clearly indicated as necessary. In London, on March 25 last, an attempt was made in this direction. After the event numerous devices suggested themselves by which this gathering might have been made more successful. Sufficient attention was not paid, I think, to introductions, the most important point in a preliminary gathering.

It was considered by some to be a mistake to combine political discussion with social intercourse. But I cannot help thinking that a printed paper of suggestions is a most necessary thing for a conversazione, and surely the supply of refreshments at a political gathering is most useful.

The best of all ways of accomplishing our object would be by the establishment of salons similar to those which were such a marked feature of Parisian life in the eighteenth century. This would insure continuous instead of spasmodic effort in the desired direction. On all days when the House of Commons did not sit such salons would afford a means of thoroughly threshing out every question of Indian

politics. And in this way could a "backing of instructed public opinion" be obtained for any reforms in Indian administration which the march of events might necessitate.

It is impossible to ignore the political side to the question of social intercourse. From various quarters we hear ominous rumours of a recrudescence of the Russian menace. Politicians who could not be described as Russophobes point out to us how the paws of the Bear are closing in on the devoted Peninsula, from Persia on the one side and Manchuria on the other. Surely if that union of both races for the good of India, which is the greatest of all our aims, could be brought about, we could afford to smile at these apprehensions.

In conclusion I cannot help thinking that something ought to be done for the behoof of Indian students in this country. We not only want to make their stay a pleasant one, but to protect them from the dangers of London. It is very difficult to know what to do, for the students do not want a "hostel," or institution of that kind, which would bring them into contact exclusively with their own people; they naturally wish to associate with the people of this country. One cannot help thinking that the Imperial Institute, which has been largely indebted to Indian money, ought to do something towards this end. It has superseded the old Northbrook Club, and it surely ought to take its place to a certain extent. The Institute is made use of for large social gatherings, but could it not be more extensively utilized? A place where those in sympathy with them could be sure of meeting educated Indians would supply a deficiency loudly complained of in all sections of London society—the want of some common evening or afternoon meeting-place, without the necessity of making appointments or issuing invitations.

May I add one word of warning to our Indian friends? I think they should always bear in mind the peculiar circumstances of their country, and not expect too much, especially on the soil of India, where the difficulties in

realizing what we all have so much at heart are very formidable; and will they always bear in mind that we look to the educated class to represent to us the needs and feelings of the masses? If by cordial social intercourse they succeed in convincing the British public of the necessity for any changes in the administration, let it always be said that those changes have for their object the greatest good of the greatest number of all those dumb millions who cannot approach us at all.

It may be useful to recapitulate the proposals which have been made in what has gone before.

#### GENERAL.

1. An attempt to remove "obsessions" like those of race and religious prejudice, which obscure the mental vision besides directly hindering our aims and objects.

2. The cultivation of a disposition to take pride in the achievements of Indians in all departments of human progress.

3. A determination on the part of Europeans to admit into society all those Indians who have attained the requisite standard, and on the part of Indians to accede to these demands.

4. A disposition on the part of educated Indians to make social intercourse the means of representing the needs and feelings of the masses, and enlightening officials as to what is going on under the surface of things.

#### PARTICULAR.

##### *In India.*

5. Government House parties.
6. King's birthday parties.
7. Special reception-rooms for Indian visitors.
8. Accessibility of officials to all classes.

*In England.*

9. Political salons in London.
10. Opening up of wide circles of intercourse to Indian visitors.
11. Protection of Indian students from the dangers of the Metropolis, and utilization of the Imperial Institute for this purpose and as a general meeting place.

Some of these proposals may be considered chimerical, but others are surely "within the range of practical politics." It is to be hoped that other suggestions may be offered in the discussion.

We must not expect too great a measure of success from any of the methods we adopt, and must be content with slow, almost imperceptible, progress.

It is essentially a situation which requires faith in ideals. The present age is antagonistic to ideals, and apt to stigmatize all enthusiasm as unpractical and hysterical; we must not let this *zeitgeist* sweep us too far in the one direction. To employ a paradox, ideals are to some the most practical things in the world. Even the most pessimistic must admit that something could be done to improve relationships, which are in many ways strained and unsatisfactory, and to enable us to present a united front to the enemies of India of whatever kind.

## "PROSPEROUS BRITISH INDIA."

BY A. R. BONUS, I.C.S.

I OFFER the following remarks to the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly* with some misgiving; for in so far as they concern the controversial methods of Mr. Digby, I may be merely going over ground already traversed by former writers. I have never had an opportunity of perusing any criticisms of "Prosperous British India." It was, indeed, not till towards the end of April of the current year that I met with the book itself. It is true that on p. 357 of the *Asiatic Quarterly* for that month Mr. Digby observes that "the main arguments of my book may be contradicted, but are not refuted"; and if I could unreservedly accept this statement, the misgivings to which I allude would disappear. And the reason why I cannot accept it is contained in the article from which I have just quoted.

For in his onslaught on Mr. R. E. Forrest's article\* Mr. Digby discharges at his opponent the following statistics:

"While in 1880 the average death-rate (Indian) per mille was 20·98, in 1900 it was 38·90. In 1900 217 Indians died to 100 British and Irish. In 1900, in the rural parts of Bombay, 566 people died to 100 in the United Kingdom."

He further remarks that in the "four Deccani districts" there were in 1889-1890 696,007 plough cattle, while the figures for 1899-1900 show only 478,283.

Now, when I read this I confess I was uncharitable enough to bring against Mr. Digby a mental accusation of want of candour, to use no harsher term. I knew that in 1900 India generally, and the Bombay Presidency in particular, had been afflicted with a devastating famine and widespread epidemics of plague and cholera. Great Britain and Ireland had not, but Mr. Digby made no allusion to this. I knew,

\* See number for October, 1902, pp. 233-251.

too, that to some extent a continuous rise in the birth-rate and death-rate of an Indian district should be ascribed to more careful registration of vital statistics. Perhaps Mr. Digby did not know this. Similarly, Mr. Digby may not have known that large numbers of cattle were removed by their owners in 1899-1900 from the Deccan districts to other regions where there were better prospects of fodder and water; but he doubtless did know that the decrease in the 1899-1900 figures for cattle was partly due to famine mortality. Yet, when he makes his comparison between 1889-1890 and 1899-1900 Mr. Digby is silent as to the prevalence of widespread famine in the latter season.

Mr. Digby may reply to this that his case is that famine should not have occurred. This contention does not affect the plague mortality, and is, moreover, beside the point at issue for the moment, which is that Mr. Digby offers for comparison sets of figures relating (1) to two countries in entirely different circumstances, (2) to the same Deccan area in two years of entirely different conditions, without in either case drawing attention to the existing differences, thus leading the uninformed reader to infer that, in the ordinary course of events, the human death-rate of the Bombay Presidency had nearly doubled between 1880 and 1900, and the stock of plough cattle diminished in ten years by over one-third. This, be it noted, is a writer who, after setting out his figures in the misleading manner indicated, concludes his reply to Mr. Forrest with the words: "Nowhere are the ultimate fact and absolute truth, so far as they can be obtained, so requisite."

But although I was thus impelled, as I have said, to regard Mr. Digby's presentation of his figures as disingenuous, I went on to read his book. I there found a calculation of the agricultural income of British India. That calculation I shall presently examine. The method of argument it contains has led me to reconsider my hasty conclusions as to want of candour on Mr. Digby's part, and I am now prepared to assume that, in his dealings with

Indian statistics of 1899-1900, his omission of any reference to the special and abnormal conditions then prevailing is due either to an idea that those conditions are immaterial, or to a natural reticence which is strikingly exemplified in the concluding pages of "Prosperous British India." The student of that account of a land where, according to the author, wealth does not accumulate, though men decay, will naturally turn at length with relief to the last chapter, where he will expect—at any rate, I did—to discover Mr. Digby's panacea. But Mr. Digby, for reasons stated, deliberately withholds it. Achilles will continue to brood in his tent until Agamemnon comes round to his way of thinking. Meanwhile, presumably, *plectuntur Achivi*; but that is, apparently, not a matter which gives Achilles much concern.

When, therefore, Mr. Digby says that the main arguments of his book may be contradicted, but are not refuted, "even though few books of recent years have been made the subject of so much comment," I am unable to guess how much of this comment he ignores, either on account of its supposed irrelevance or by reason of the natural reticence already referred to. I do not know, for instance, whether Mr. Digby has seen the Blue-Book "East India (Land Revenue): Papers regarding the Land Revenue System of British India, 1902." That Blue-Book has been reprinted in a small octavo volume, price one shilling, for sale at the usual agents', and will repay perusal. But as it deals directly only with Mr. R. C. Dutt, and not with Mr. Digby, it is possible that the latter does not regard it as a refutation.

If, then, I repeat in these pages criticism already enunciated by others, I can only apologize, and hope that what I have to say on the subject of agricultural indebtedness may be new enough to arrest attention. I do not propose to follow Mr. Digby all through "Prosperous British India," or even through his paper in the last *Asiatic Quarterly*. I do not intend to discuss the question

whether official estimates of the annual income per head of the Indian population are correct, for, in the absence of the detailed data on which those estimates are founded, little advantage can accrue from such a course, as, indeed, Mr. Digby himself argues in respect of the 1882 estimates (*"Prosperous British India,"* pp. 444, 448). What I do propose is merely to examine Mr. Digby's views as to agricultural income, land assessment, and agricultural indebtedness in the Western Presidency of India. I do not profess to know much about the other Presidencies and provinces, nor have I had adequate opportunities for examining facts bearing on non-agricultural incomes.

On pp. 365, 366 of *"Prosperous British India,"* then, we find Mr. Digby's calculation of agricultural income. He says:

"The agricultural income of to-day can easily be reckoned, if it be recognised that the Government land revenue bears a definite relation to the outturn. . . . So far as I am able to ascertain, the revenue yearly obtained bears to the gross produce of the soil a proportion of: . . . In Bombay 20 to 23 per cent.—say 25 per cent. (I take my figures from Mr. Romesh Dutt's recent work, *'Open Letters to Lord Curzon,'* p. 113. They seem to have been arrived at after close investigation.) With these figures I multiply the total revenue of the respective Presidencies, and get these results: . . . Bombay: Rs. 47,164,970  $\times$  4 = Rs. 188,659,880."

It is conceivable that the uninformed citizen, for whose edification I understand that Mr. Digby writes, might accept this statement without question. But the question which will instantly occur to any Bombay revenue officer, as it did to me, is, "What possible authority can Mr. Dutt and his follower, Mr. Digby, have for the assumptions that the land revenue bears a definite relation to the outturn, and that in the Bombay Presidency that relation is on an average 25 per cent.?"

I reflected. I knew that no periodical reckoning up of produce was carried out in any village or district that I was

acquainted with, so the relation of revenue to gross produce could not be determined in that way. I knew that isolated tests ("crop experiments") were carried out, tending to show the incidence of assessment in isolated cases, on particular crops, in particular years; but I knew, too, that I should be in the highest degree chary of attempting to generalize from the results of these experiments—experiments which a veteran survey and settlement officer once characterized in conversation with me as "the most misleading things anyone could possibly have invented." I knew that of two fields of equal productivity the one lying a mile from a market town would probably be assessed more highly than the one which lay ten miles distant by an indifferent cart-track; so that here there was no fixed ratio of assessment to productive power, even apart from actual production. I knew that in the case of two equally productive, similarly situated, and similarly assessed fields, the yield would vary according as the farming was good or bad; according, it might even be, as the sowing was early or late; according as one crop missed the half-inch of rain which a timely shower bestowed on the other. Here, then, no ratio between assessment and outturn could be established. Clearly Messrs. Dutt and Digby had access to information which the experience of sixteen years had not brought within my ken, and I turned to the reference given—"Open Letters to Lord Curzon."

On p. x of Mr. Dutt's preface I found this remark: "It was once believed that the land revenue (for Bombay) represented about one-eighth of the gross produce, but at the present time it is generally between 20 and 33 per cent. of the gross produce. See Appendix A." I saw Appendix A, and this is what at last rewarded my researches (pp. 109, 113):

1. Some extracts from a letter of a newspaper correspondent (Mr. Vaughan Nash) containing his notes of statements made to him, through an interpreter, by ten cultivators of two villages near Nandurbar.

2. A footnote running: "Recent calculations made by myself and by other observers who have made inquiries on the spot show that the proportion of produce taken as revenue in Bombay is generally between 20 and 33 per cent. of the gross produce of fields."

That is absolutely all. Who were these observers? What data had they? How and over what area did they make their observations? What are their methods of calculation? There is not a word to show. It comes to this: Mr. Digby's calculations of the agricultural income of an entire Presidency are directly based upon no better evidence than (1) Mr. Vaughan Nash's notes of these statements, recorded through an interpreter, of ten cultivators of two remote villages in West Khandesh, statements which, I may observe, include one or two assertions which would render an expert suspicious of their complete accuracy; and (2) an *obiter dictum* of Mr. R. C. Dutt, implying that he and "other observers" (unnamed) possess means of accurately calculating a ratio which, in my belief, could not be estimated with any pretension to exactitude by any collector of a Bombay district from the information at his disposal.

Mr. Digby is, I gather, a Fellow of the Statistical Society. One speculates with interest on the manner in which that society would receive a paper "On the Average Speed attained by Motor-cars in the United Kingdom," based upon (1) the statements of ten *chauffeurs* as to the rate at which they drive down Park Lane; (2) the lecturer's unsupported statement that he and "other observers who have made inquiries on the spot" had made calculations showing that the average speed in question was between ten and sixteen miles per hour. I have no hesitation in asserting that the conclusions of Mr. Digby as to the agricultural income of the Bombay Presidency are precisely as valuable as would be the results arrived at in such a paper as I have suggested; and that Mr. Digby's approving remark that the figures "seem to have been arrived at

after close investigation," would be exactly as applicable in the one case as in the other.

And even in inaccuracy Mr. Digby is not consistent. His work is a "serious and most painstaking investigation" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1903, p. 341). Accordingly, we find on pp. 365, 366 of "Prosperous British India" the agricultural income of the Bombay Presidency calculated, as already pointed out, to be Rs. 188,659,880; and on p. 573, by a different method of reckoning, it appears as Rs. 243,170,217.

The latter figure is for 1898-1899, and is based on an assumption of the average value of the yield per acre of the cultivated (or cultivable) area of the Presidency. The utility of it in a "serious and most painstaking investigation" may be gathered from the observations of the investigator himself forty pages earlier ("Prosperous British India," p. 531):

"There is an entire absence of trustworthy data showing the market or money value of the total production of the country so far as the yellow stream (representing, in a coloured diagram, food-stuffs and agricultural produce) is concerned."

However, there the figure is. The other figure (Rs. 188,659,880) is not, I think, specifically assigned by Mr. Digby to any given year, but it is based on a land revenue return of Rs. 47,164,970, which I cannot trace in the General Administration Reports of the Bombay Presidency for 1898-1899 to 1901-1902 inclusive. The *gross* land revenue for 1898-1899 is, according to the Report:

			Rs.
Bombay	...	...	38,974,332 (p. 422)
Sind	...	...	32,448,331 (p. 425)
Total	...		Rs. 71,422,663

And the *net* revenue for collection (p. 208) Rs. 38,849,000. Mr. Digby's figure is between the two, and may have been (quite legitimately) arrived at by omitting certain

items which should not figure as land revenue for the purposes of his particular calculation, though I have not been able to make out which these items are. My point is that if the figures Rs. 188,659,880 and Rs. 243,170,217 both refer to the same year, the discrepancy is so enormous as to show conclusively that one at least of Mr. Digby's methods of calculation is hopelessly wrong; while there are good grounds for regarding both methods as equally bad.

Perhaps, however, the two figures do not relate to the same period. In this case, while we are not precluded, for reasons already given, from holding both methods of calculation to be faulty, we can only regret that Mr. Digby's presentation of his case should expose him to the suspicion of having ignored a discrepancy of some 23 per cent.

I do not think I need analyze Mr. Digby's statistical methods further; but before I leave this part of the field I may remark that, whereas on pp. 374-381 and elsewhere in "*Prosperous British India*," Mr. Digby complains bitterly of the absence of trustworthy figures which (he says) could easily be obtained, he hints on p. 628 that excessive inquisition is already a feature of the ryotwar system. The inconsistency involved is characteristic.

I turn to consider Mr. Digby's doctrine as to the income of the agricultural population of India from a more general point of view. Here we have first to consider what that doctrine is. Is it Mr. Digby's creed (1) that India does not produce enough food to support the population; or (2) that the food (and other wealth) produced is sufficient in the aggregate, but that the bulk of the population do not get their fair share; or (3) that the bulk of the people do not get their fair share, and that even if they did it would not suffice for their maintenance?

With respect to (1) and the second part of (3) it may be noted that Mr. Digby quotes with approval ("*Prosperous British India*," p. 164) the Rev. J. T. Sunderland: "Even under present conditions India produces food enough for all

her people"; and elsewhere (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, p. 365) himself admits that "even in officially declared famine years the stocks of food hold out." We may take it, then, that Mr. Digby's view is that it is not short production, but inequitable distribution of wealth, that is at the root of Indian economic evils. "What does not hold out," says Mr. Digby, "is, for tens of millions, the wherewithal to pay for the food" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, p. 365). This is true (except in respect of the total, "tens of millions") of nearly if not quite every civilized country in the world. There is high authority for the statement that the poor we have always with us, and there is nothing novel about Mr. Digby's just-quoted dictum. If Mr. Digby looks at the proportion of the British population who receive relief from the poor-rate every winter, he will find it in excess of the proportion of the population of India relieved in a year of famine. The remarkable feature of the case is that Mr. Digby, who has "not merely taken pains, but almost infinite pains, to ascertain the real state of things" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, p. 348), appears, nevertheless, to have entirely overlooked the cause underlying the unequal distribution of agricultural wealth in India.

Mr. Digby holds that the Indian cultivator is unmercifully mulcted in land revenue by a rapacious Government and is thus driven to the money-lender to obtain the means of livelihood. He quotes Mr. Parekh ("Prosperous British India," p. 345) to the effect that the cultivator must borrow from the money-lender because the assessment on the land is too heavy. He implies (*op. cit.*, p. 533) that the cultivator is only kept alive by the money-lender. Now, what follows logically from this position? First, it is clear that agricultural land in India must be regarded as a hopelessly bad investment. After the assessment is paid, the remainder left to the cultivator is not enough for his own maintenance; much less can it suffice to yield a profit to anyone else. Then how does Mr. Digby explain the

undoubted and easily demonstrable fact (see Blue-Book and other records) that the land does possess a very notable value, and is in steady demand even among the non-agricultural classes? Secondly, if the Government takes so large a share of the produce of the land that the remainder does not suffice to maintain the cultivator, whence comes the wealth in the money-lender's possession, wherewith he keeps the ryot from starvation? On Mr. Digby's own theory it is not accumulated wealth, because wealth cannot accumulate in India. There is a Drain. Then where does the money come from? Not from non-agricultural sources, for the class of money-lender that I have in mind has little or no concern with non-agricultural investments or a non-agricultural clientèle.

"Ah! if only Indian *facts* were studied, and fancies left in the realm of ignorance whence they came!" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, p. 352). I have shown the fanciful nature of Mr. Digby's speculations as to the proportion of revenue to gross produce in the Bombay Presidency, and of his subsequent deductions on the subject of agricultural income. Let us now consider a few facts persistently ignored by the school of painstaking students of economics of which Mr. Digby is a member. In a letter of the Bombay Government, quoted in the Blue-Book mentioned on p. 17 above, will be found figures showing the prices fetched by lands sold by decrees of the courts. The prices range from eleven times the assessment (in an out-of-the-way corner like Tolada) to fifty-one times the assessment (in Karad, in the Southern Deccan). Those, too, are forced-sale prices, and would be exceeded in sales by private treaty. If the land, after paying assessment, will not support the cultivator, how are these figures to be explained? The same letter of the Bombay Government points out that a common rent-agreement between landlord and tenant is for the former to take half the crop. The Government might, I think, have even gone a little further without fear of contradiction. They might have said that

a common agreement is for the landlord to take half the crop, and *for the tenant to pay the whole of the Government assessment*. I have not infrequently met with such leases as this, but I have never known them alluded to in the "serious and painstaking investigations" which seek to delude the inexpert public into a belief that Bombay assessments amount to 20 to 33 per cent. of the gross produce, and constitute an intolerable burden. (Suppose, by the way, that the whole of the land revenue for a year were remitted and left in the cultivators' pockets, what would be the daily increment of income per head of agricultural population? I have not tried to ascertain the necessary data for this sum; if they are ascertainable, the result should be of interest.)

It is no intolerable burden of assessment that harasses the Bombay cultivator. It is the domination of the money-lender. The reason, origin, and progress of that domination I shall presently explain, but I pause for a moment to point out in this connection a characteristic Digbeian inconsistency.

On page 295 (or thereabouts) of "*Prosperous British India*," Mr. Digby pronounces a panegyric on Mr. S. S. Thorburn for the stand made by the latter in defence of the Panjabi cultivators against their oppressors, the local Shylocks. It is true that he complains that the Panjab Land Alienation Act, which was apparently the direct result of Mr. Thorburn's action, "took from the owners of the land many of their proprietary rights," but I nevertheless gather that he admits that the tyranny of the money-lender had long been a notorious evil in the Panjab, and that the remedial Act was on the whole a commendable piece of legislation. Now, that same tyranny had been in evidence in Bombay for at least as long as in the Panjab. Mr. Digby refers to the subject in scathing terms ("*Prosperous British India*," p. 453). The matter had often occupied the attention of Government. There had been usury riots; there had been special legislation. There

was more legislation in 1901; the Bill, if I recollect aright, was closely parallel to the Panjab Act. The *quasi*-elected native members of the Legislative Council (the adjective is Mr. Digby's) desired the postponement of the grant of the projected relief. I think they voted in down-right opposition to the second reading of the Bill; they certainly declined to discuss it thereafter. "They acted," says Mr. Digby, "in my opinion rightly" (*"Prosperous British India,"* p. 572). And it is Mr. Digby and his allies who pose as champions of the alleged victims of Governmental maladministration! It is Mr. Digby who quotes with relish (*"Prosperous British India,"* p. 629) a pseudonymous writer who simultaneously misrepresents and scoffs at the remedial measures adopted!

To revert to the money-lender, it is not unlikely that the current description of the ryotwari land tenure is responsible for a good deal of misconception on the part of uninformed students of Indian economics. The description is thus given by Mr. Dutt on p. x of the preface to *"Famines in India"*:

"In Bombay the cultivators, generally speaking, pay revenue direct to Government, there being no intervening landlords."

As far as it goes, that statement is strictly accurate. The *theory* of the system is that the cultivator pays his rent direct to the village headman and accountant, the two representatives of Government in the village. If, then, there are only two parties to the contract—Government and the cultivator—and if the latter is frequently in debt, the obvious conclusion appears to be that the rent demanded is excessive. The fallacy in the argument is the tacit assumption that after the cultivator has sold enough produce to defray his rent the rest remains his. This, however, is not the case.

For history shows that after one or two early experiments and failures the Government devised a system of settlement which conferred upon the land thus settled the

character of a valuable asset. The terms included moderation in rents, fixity of rents over lease-periods of thirty years, and (most unfortunately) power to the cultivator to dispose of his interest in the lease. The idea was, of course, to encourage agriculture by giving the cultivator a quasi-proprietary position. That position was worth having, and the more astute section of the populace were not slow to perceive the fact, and to devise means whereby they might supplant the holders.

There ensued a process which has long been familiar in England — loans on easy terms, compound interest, renewals, mortgage of the debtor's interest, foreclosure — and the money-lender found himself in the position of Government tenant; while the cultivator, if he remained on the land at all, remained there on such terms as the money-lender might see fit to grant him. Sir Alfred Lyall's verses on the old Panjabi sum up the case :

"Yes, and here's one of them coming. My father gave him a bill ;  
I've paid the man twice over, and here I'm paying him still.  
He shows me a long stamped paper, and must have my land, must he ?  
If I were twenty years younger, he'd get six feet by three."

In the Deccan, too, the land-grabbing policy of the money-lenders led in due course to anti-usury riots, and in 1879 it was sought to afford the cultivator protection by means of a law known as the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. This Act, however, is of only local application, and the Indian "gombeen-man" has long since discovered "a way round." Aware that the Act enables and requires a court acting thereunder to investigate in suits dealing with mortgages, foreclosures, and accounts between cultivators and money-lenders, the whole course of the debtor and creditor relations between the parties, and to pass a decree which shall be equitable under all the circumstances of the case, Shylock now requires his victim to execute a deed of sale as security for loans. This is explained, in conversation, to be a mere formality. There are legal reasons why Shylock cannot accept a mortgage as adequate security.

There will be no practical difference in the borrower's position. He will remain in possession of the land under a lease, and when the principal and interest of the loan are repaid the sale-deed will be handed back, the leases torn up, and the *status quo ante* restored. So deed of sale and lease are duly drawn up, witnessed, and registered. But the borrower does not know, though Shylock does, that if ever the matter comes into court the oral agreement between them (even should there be witnesses available to prove it) cannot by the law of evidence be thrown into the scale against the formal written deeds, signed, sealed, witnessed, registered, and delivered. The court may be morally certain that an outrageous fraud has been perpetrated, but Shylock is entitled to judgment. Perhaps a money-lender of the old school may intend to deal fairly by his debtor in such a bargain as I have indicated, but it does not follow that his heirs and successors will do so. I recall a case in point, where land was being taken up for some public purpose, and compensation had to be paid to the holders. In the case of one field, an old man who had cultivated it for years and paid the assessment regularly was *prima facie* entitled to the compensation money. At the last moment a spruce young money-lender intervened with a sale-deed showing that his father had bought the occupancy right of the field from the old man years before for a hundred rupees, and that thenceforward the old man had only cultivated it on a year-to-year lease. The sale-price of a hundred rupees was, in the circumstances, preposterous, and the new claimant himself admitted that the land was no doubt worth far more. Still, there were the papers. The old man admitted their authenticity, the young one stood out for his bond, and the compensation money had of necessity to be awarded to the man, who had unquestionably no moral right to it whatever.

This is the system of chicanery and spoliation which enables the money-lender to exploit Indian agriculture for his own ends and to secure the profits of the land, while he

leaves to the actual cultivator of the soil a bare subsistence, or less. This is the system under which the indebted tenant-at-will sees his creditor landlord arrive year by year to sweep away for rent a half or more of the newly-harvested crop. This is the system from which the money-lenders, the gombeen-men, and the absentee landlords endeavour to divert attention by clamorous advocacy, for the poverty which they themselves have created, of a remedy of reduced assessments—a remedy the limited benefit of which would never be allowed to reach the actual cultivator. This is the system which latter-day legislation is endeavouring to abolish by restriction of the cultivator's power to alienate or mortgage his rights under the survey tenure ; and it is that legislation which the self-styled friends of the Indian cultivator have endeavoured to impede—in Mr. Digby's opinion rightly.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR INCREASING THE WATER-SUPPLY IN CENTRAL INDIA, AND FOR THE PREVENTION OF FLOODS.

BY G. E. WARD.

OVER the greater part of India a failure of the rains means the loss of not more than one year's crops, and nothing is more astonishing than the rapid restoration of prosperity after famine in large tracts of country at the end of a single good season.

But in one unfortunate tract the process of recovery after a bad year of drought is so slow that a modicum of prosperity is barely reached after one famine before the recurrence of another; and the general conditions of progress are like that of the man who slipped two steps backward after each step made forward. This tract is in the very centre of the peninsula; it has an average rainfall of 30 inches, and if there were any means of storing its rainfall it would not only be secured from drought itself, but would have a surplus of water to distribute over many thousand square miles of the country lying below it.

My personal experience of Bundelkhand is limited to that part of it which was included in the old Jhansi division, of which I was Commissioner from March, 1884, to February, 1889; but many of the remarks which follow will, I believe, be found more or less applicable to the whole of Bundelkhand, and to Central India generally.

The rainfall registered at Jhansi in the year 1883 was about 16 inches, that being the *average* rainfall of the fertile and populous district of Meerut in the Doab. But already, in March, 1884, when I arrived, the country was so bare and burnt up that literally no blade of grass was to be seen anywhere. The first rain of 1884 fell about June 20, when there was a copious downpour, and within three days the whole country was as green as a district in

Lower Bengal. As a friend remarked, the sudden change of Nature's aspect reminded one of a transformation scene in a pantomime.

Before June I had made two journeys by road to Lalitpur, fifty-four miles south of Jhansi. There are numerous roadside wells provided on this road for the convenience of travellers, but only one of them had water in it at that time. The other resting-places where water was obtainable were at the crossing of the Betwa, and at two villages possessed of tanks. Notwithstanding the drought, there was no immediate apprehension of famine, or even distress, among the population; but numbers of cattle died, and those which survived were reduced to skin and bone.

The water-supply in the cantonment of Jhansi diminished so rapidly towards the end of the hot weather that it became a question whether the troops should not be sent out into camp near the Betwa.

In the walled town of Jhansi, which at that time belonged to the Gwalior State, and was estimated to have a population of 45,000, the whole supply of drinking water came from five wells, built in a cluster at one corner of the town and called the "Pachkúyán." I discovered that the secret of their never failing (and, indeed, of their having been constructed in such a remarkable cluster by former governors of the city) was that, outside the walls, at a distance of about three-quarters of a mile, there was an artificial lake of moderate dimensions, made in ancient times by the common practice of damming a small water-course. The level of the water in the wells never sank below the level of the water in the lake, which was not used, as most lakes are, for irrigation.

In the Commissioner's compound, which was on high ground above cantonments, and had an area of about twenty acres, there were three wells. One—very wide and deep—on which successive Commissioners had spent large sums of money, was sunk in the rock at the highest point of the compound, and was used for watering a garden of

about half an acre in extent. A second had been sunk by my predecessor in a low and fairly wide ravine at the extreme opposite corner of the garden, the platform of the well being raised to such a height that by means of a rude aqueduct the water could reach the garden. The third well had originally belonged to a deserted bungalow in the same compound, and was little used except by the syces and servants. This was the only one of the three which lasted through the drought, and it supplied the needs of many families besides my own. The big well was perfectly dry at the beginning of April, and remained dry till the end of August, some ten weeks after the rains had begun.

Since I had been warned against any further attempt to deepen the big well of the garden, I resolved to try the experiment of collecting as much of the rainfall as I could within the area of the compound. As I have said, the area was about twenty acres, the ground hard and uneven—absolutely unculturable—with a considerable fall on nearly every side, and wide depressions where the rain swept over the surface. In one of these hollows a pit had been dug for material for building the house. I extended the pit and used the earth (which could be dug only with pickaxes) in making a dam about 200 feet long, and probably 25 feet wide at its base. Plenty of room was left on either side of the dam for any overflow to escape; but subsequently I made a second dam below the first, on the boundary of the compound, and gave it no escape, since I found that, although the pond I had first made would become full after a fall of 6 inches of rain, or thereabouts, the water sank in the soil so rapidly that there was always room left for the next heavy downpour. I also made *ridges* (rather than dams) above the pond, which compelled the water to sink into the soil at a still higher level. In the course of two or three years I had so arranged the surface of the compound as to preserve nearly every drop of water that fell on it during the rainy season.

I regret that I did not keep more full and accurate statistics of the result. But I may mention that from August, 1884, to the time I left Jhansi the big well never again dried up, although a far greater area of garden was irrigated from it—and much more copiously—than had ever been attempted before. I have it on record that during the hot weather of 1888, after a moderate rainfall in the preceding year, there was never less than 8 feet of water in the well; and that on August 15 of that year, when 27·13 inches of rain had fallen, the water reached the same height (a certain band of bricks in the casing of the well) which it had attained in October, 1884, after the unusually heavy rainfall of 45·80 inches. It subsequently rose about 8 feet higher.

Meanwhile, out of an annual grant which the North-West Provinces Government allowed the Commissioner of Jhansi for construction and repair of lakes, I had allotted about Rs. 1,000 under the head of "Minor Works" for the construction of some dams in the ravines above a small stream that carried the surface drainage of Jhansi to the Bétwa, but was always dry in the hot weather. These were constructed under the orders of Major Bellasis, the executive engineer, who took a great interest in the construction of lakes, and had planned and executed many much larger works. About a mile as the crow flies from the site of the lowest of these dams the stream in question runs through fairly level country, and though there was no water in it for six months of the year, the trees and shrubs on either side bore witness to its influence. After the construction of the dams, the flow of water at this point remained clear and steady through the greater part of the hot weather.

In 1887—with special reference to the large tract of barren hilly country which had lately been acquired from the Gwalior State on the readjustment of boundaries which followed the exchange of the Morar cantonment for the town and fort of Jhansi—I drew up a note suggesting plans

for increasing the water-supply, which I had printed. Copies were sent to the Government of the Provinces, the board of Revenue, and the Director of Agriculture. Possibly there are some copies remaining in the office of the Commissioner, which has now been transferred from Jhansi to Allahabad.

In 1888 I obtained the necessary sanction for a project which was intended to test the value of these suggestions. The scheme was prepared by Mr. Bligh, then executive engineer, in consultation with myself. The stream to be dealt with was a small tributary of the Pahooj River in the newly-acquired territory. At a spot about six miles west of Jhansi, and a little to the south of the Seepree Road, the stream passed in fairly level country through a narrow gorge of rock. At this point a small masonry dam was constructed at a cost of, I think, about Rs. 1,500. Two miles or so higher up a cluster of lakelets was formed by damming up the watercourses trending to the stream. The dams were of earthwork, costing from Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 apiece, the safety of the overflow being in most instances provided for by the rocky nature of the ground. We contemplated a further series of dams lower down stream, and a series of small catchpools higher up in the ravines, but this was to be the work of another year. The success of the experiment was to be tested by the flow of water over the weir in the gorge. If the flow should be moderated in the rainy season and clear and constant in the dry season, the success of the scheme would be apparent, since it would prove that the high, barren ground above the stream had been converted into a natural reservoir, and that the rain storms beating upon the area had become beneficent instead of destructive agents.

It so happened that in March, 1889, I was ordered home for good by the doctors. Mr. Bligh was shortly afterwards transferred on promotion, and within a year or two the Jhansi commissionership was abolished. All the correspondence on the subject was sent into the office during

my illness, and I have never been able to ascertain since whether any success attended the experiment.

But, notwithstanding the absence of proof, I am so convinced of the feasibility of gradually restoring to Central India by this method something of its former fertility and prosperity (which is attested not only by the ancient and beautiful sculptures found in remote forests, but by the numerous stone sugar-mills\* which are lying unused in places where sugar-cane is now an imported luxury) that I feel it a duty to give what publicity I can to the suggestions based on my five years' experience of the country.

The practice of forming large lakes by damming up the drainage of a valley is one of great antiquity in Central India, and some of the ancient artificial lakes of the Jhansi and Hamirpur districts are deservedly celebrated for their beauty. The largest of them are several miles in circumference, and the traveller is all the more struck by the greenness of their surroundings from having traversed the barren ranges of heated rock and stifling waste land which form the staple of Central India scenery. They were constructed, however, for ornament rather than utility, at a time when the periodical droughts, from which the country now suffers, probably never occurred, and, except in their immediate vicinity, they do not greatly increase the fertility of the land. They are situated upon the level land below the hills, and the whole of their area, if not occupied by water, would be available for cultivation. The most perfect specimen of an ancient lake (on the score of utility as well as beauty) that I remember is one on the road from Jhansi to Barwa Sagar, about ten miles out of Jhansi. The road itself forms the dam. The lake—a very shallow one, but of wide extent—lies to the south of the road, and on the north side the land is plotted out into rice-fields. By the end of October the whole of the water from the lake has been distributed in irrigating the rice, and *then* the bed of

\* I counted twenty of these within the area of a small village in the Lalitpur district where sugar-cane had not been grown for years.

the lake is ploughed up for wheat. At whichever season of the year one passes by the eye is gladdened by the sight of a magnificent crop on the one side or on the other.

But usually the area which can be directly irrigated from an artificial lake is of small extent, and the advantages derived from the lakes are mainly indirect, consisting in the raising of the water-level in a zone of perhaps three miles' width round them, so that trees planted in the vicinity attain a respectable size, and the cattle, besides being secure of water, obtain shade and pasture. The bigger lakes are also well stocked with fish, which add largely to the food-supply, and maintain numerous families of boatmen and fishermen. I doubt if the water-rates levied on *irrigation* from the Barwa Ságar lake, which is the largest in the Jhansi district, after deducting the cost of collection and maintenance, pay more than an infinitesimal interest upon the original cost of construction.

The dams which form these lakes are triumphs of engineering skill and grand monuments of enterprise and munificence, but from a utilitarian point of view they are open to the following objections: In the first place, as already mentioned, the vast area covered by water is lost to agriculture; in the second place, their construction and maintenance are very costly; and in the third place, they do not hold up anything like the amount of water which the yearly rains bring into their catchment basin. A fall of from 6 to 12 inches of rain suffices to fill them; after that, whatever rain descends—and the *average* rainfall is 30 inches—is most of it swept over the waste weir, carrying with it a quantity of good soil. Of the water which is accumulated during the rainy season a great deal must be lost in the hot weather by evaporation. It goes without saying that these lakes *can* only benefit the land which lies immediately round or below them, and not in any way the extensive uplands behind them which suffer most from drought. What is wanted for Central India is some device *to keep the rain on the heights and store it in*

*the rocks from which the streams issue.* This object could be achieved by re-afforestation, but re-afforestation is hopeless under the present conditions without water to keep the trees alive. The mere aspect of the existing Government "forests" (so called) in Central India would convince any one of this.

From the sources of the Betwa to the great dam at Paricha, whence the Betwa Canal issues, the distance as the crow flies is 195 miles, the distance by river being about forty miles extra. The fall of the country is 6 feet, and of the river 5 feet, in the mile. The catchment area is 10,200 square miles in extent, and the discharge of water in flood time is 775,000 cubic feet a second. It would be interesting to ascertain what amount of solid matter is carried over the dam every year with the water. The roar of the Betwa in flood time can be distinctly heard at Jhansi, six miles off, and it is said that the torrent carries down with it huge boulders of rock, as well as the trunks of fallen trees. The overflow at Paricha—which has been compared for width and volume in the rains to the falls of Niagara \*—sends up a spray which is brown with mud.

Of course, the canal only irrigates the country below the dam, and I believe its chief effect has been to convert the wheat-fields of Jalaun into rice-fields. If the water which annually flows to waste over the weir in the rains could by any means be stored where it falls from heaven, so as to soak into the area of 10,200 square miles which it now practically devastates in its transit, the whole of the valley above the dam would be saved, not only from drought, but from the annual scouring which carries away all the top dressing provided yearly by Nature to the soil from the fall of leaves and other decaying matter, and cuts great fissures in the culturable slopes of the hills.

No one who has not resided some years in the country, and been in the habit of observing year after year the effects of

\* Including an island in midstream the whole length of the barrier is a mile and a quarter. In heavy floods the water tops the weir by 20 feet.

the last rainy season on certain localities which have at any time attracted his attention, can form an idea of the destruction wrought upon the surface of the land wherever ravines are once formed and the soil above them is not sedulously protected by the cultivators.

Even the cultivated and superficially protected area is liable to "fall in" at places which have been rendered unsound by the scouring of the subsoil, but any fields near a tract of ravines which have been left uncultivated and unprotected are soon reduced to a state in which cultivation is hopeless.

A learned and wealthy landowner in the south of Lalitpur once informed me that the course of the Betwa itself is believed to have been formed not more than a thousand years ago; and he stated, as a proof of the theory, that in all the Sanskrit works anterior to that date, which give lists of the Indian rivers, the Betwa is omitted. The bed of the Betwa, which is now 70 feet below the surface of the surrounding country, has certainly been lowered considerably at Orcha since the Maharaja's fort and palace were built there in the seventeenth century.

No heroic measure is required to counteract the devastation. As Saa'di says, "The torrent, which gathers strength sufficient to sweep away an elephant, may be checked at its source by a spade." The Betwa is fed by many minor streams, winding from all directions; these, again, are fed by innumerable channels, dry through the whole year except in the rains; and these, again, are fed by the torrents which pour down the ravines. But the gradient of these torrents is nowhere precipitous, as in the lower Himalayas or in the Alps. The fall of the country, from the sources of the Betwa to Paricha, is only 1,350 feet, spread over a distance of 195 miles. I believe there are few spots in the whole of the catchment area where the rainfall could not be held up and forced to penetrate the soil vertically by a system of *small* dams, which would cost, individually, but a trifling sum to con-

struct. My suggestion is that the experiment is at least worth trying.

Of the numerous streams which fall into the Betwa, some one stream might first be selected for experiment. At some spot on the level where the current, after the rains are over, is slack and steady, a masonry weir might be constructed for the purpose of testing the effect of the subsequent operations.

Then, working upwards, and from a point where there is no water after the rains have ceased, along the course of every tributary channel, with all its ramifying cluster of ravines, sites would be selected for dams of earthwork of all sizes—large, small, or tiny—according to the nature of the ground.

The upper tiers of the various ravines might be converted into a series of pools, which would fill half a dozen times during the rains, and be dry in the hot weather, but yet serve to nourish a fringe of young trees. Below these there might be, as it were, halting-places for the torrents on their way down—I mean side tanks to which a portion at least of the water might be diverted, or through which the torrent might be made to flow, and which would remain full of water for perhaps a month or two after the rush had passed; and below these, again, still larger reservoirs, which might be used in time to irrigate terraced rice-fields. A man with a knowledge of the country, and a good eye for the lie of the ground, would find at nearly every stage some ledge of rock which would serve as a natural waste weir, and, failing that, logs of timber would often be sufficient for the purpose.

Every dam should be sown with bábul or shisham seed, which grow rapidly; and I may mention here that although the soil is mostly half decomposed granite, and almost as hard as rock, so that it blunts the edges of the pickaxes used in digging it, yet, when it is once broken up and well supplied with water, it is extraordinarily fertile.

If the first experiment should be proved successful, by securing a perennial flow of clear water over the test weir, one tributary stream after another, with all its ramifications,

might be taken in hand until the entire valley has been dealt with.

After a time, the observations for testing the success would be removed to the big weir at Paricha.

Of course, a good deal would be learnt during the process of the operations, and it is not in the least likely that they would be carried out entirely without mishaps. But since the slope of the hills is slight, and the whole process indicated is not one requiring any single gigantic effort, but rather the repeated multiplication of small efforts undertaken gradually, I do not believe that any isolated failure would be attended with disaster.

No more fitting agency could be found for the supervision of the scheme than the executive engineer in charge of the canal works at Paricha, but the staff entrusted with the execution of the works might consist entirely of energetic native officials with some engineering capacity, but, above all, a thorough knowledge of the country and quick powers of observation. Of course, they should be men who would be on good terms with the zamindars and cultivators, and not above taking hints from them in matters where local tradition is often of importance.

If the scheme should prove a success in the Betwa valley, it would no doubt be applied to the catchment areas of other rivers flowing from the Vindhya range. And from these, *after their water has been preserved, and their flow made perennial*, canals of a far less costly nature than the Betwa Canal might then be constructed.

Looking at the question from a financial aspect, it is at once evident that the scheme would not be immediately remunerative. There would be no visible body of surface water to distribute and levy irrigation rates upon. The hoarded water would all be hidden deep in the underlying rock. The revenue assessments could not for a term of years be raised upon the villagers, whose wells, however, would be replenished, whose cattle would be protected from starvation, and whose crops would be saved from drought.

There would be no profit from the trees planted on the dams until they had grown up. But the supply of water for the Betwa Canal would, I am convinced, be at once and permanently increased, and the damage by floods lessened, and the protected area would prosper, and its prosperity diminish the burden of famine relief. Moreover, within the protected area there would be a certain amount of Government forest land which would be directly benefited by the water.

In the long-run, I believe that the scheme, if successful at all, would be eminently remunerative. Independently of the restored fertility of the culturable area, which would permit a rise in the land revenue, the Government forests of Central India, which now yield an inappreciable return, would become a most valuable asset. The Jhansi rosewood tree (a species of shisham) is a most beautiful wood, and wants nothing but water for it to attain a size which would make it eagerly sought after, and there are other timber trees of great value, as well as excellent bamboos.

If the discharge of water over the Paricha weir (which, as I have said, may be compared in the rainy season with the Falls of Niagara) were *constant* through the year, instead of being limited to a few weeks' duration, the value of its force for electrical and other undertakings would be enormous; and over the whole of the area protected there would be water-power for mills and turbines. The Government, I believe, has rights in all the river system of the country, but possibly some Act would have to be passed for securing whatever advantages would accrue from its outlay on the scheme.

It seems unreasonable that a tract of country, which is blessed with an average annual rainfall of 30 inches, should be constantly suffering from drought, and that in the best of seasons it should be able to support only a very sparse population. But it is not only the people who dwell in the tract itself who would benefit by the rain being stored where it falls. For if the springs at the foot of the hills were re-

plenished, and the watercourses, which are now sometimes dry and sometimes in flood, were furnished with a perennial stream of water, the whole of the low-lying country between the slopes of the Vindhya range and the Doab would be enriched, and the flooding of the Jumna and the Ganges Rivers would be diminished, and Central India would no longer send down its annual tribute of tons of good soil to obstruct the river traffic and fill up the harbours of Lower Bengal.

## REDUCTION OF INDIA'S TAXATION: SALT DUTY.

BY SIR CHARLES A. RÖE.

THE announcement made in the Viceroy's Legislative Council at Calcutta, on the occasion of the introduction of the Budget for the coming year, that the Government of India intends to devote some £1,500,000 of its anticipated surplus to the reduction of taxation by lowering the salt duty from 2 Rs. 8 annas per maund to Rs. 2, and by raising the minimum of income liable to income tax from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 a year, will be received with such general approval in England that it seems invidious to question the wisdom of the measure, yet I venture to do so on the following grounds :

In my article in your issue of April last, pp. 283-302, I examined in detail the various heads of the revenue received by the Government of India, and with reference to the salt tax I remarked that, whilst on the face of it it is open to the objection that it is a tax on the necessaries of life, and falls at much the same rate per head on rich and poor alike, yet it is not regarded by the people themselves as unjust or oppressive; a petty reduction in its rate would be futile, and a large reduction would have to be made good by other taxation, which would be far more unpopular than the present tax. The petty reduction I deprecated has now been granted, and I should much like to know how it is going to benefit the really poor. The salt tax, at the old rate, produced about £6,000,000 a year, which represents a payment of about 5d. per head on a population of 300,000,000, and the reduction of the tax by one-fifth, or £1,200,000, will thus give a relief of a penny per head of the population; and assuming that each taxpayer represents a household of five persons, he will benefit to the extent of 5d. a year. It is difficult to imagine how such a petty relief could really better his condition, but it is still more

difficult to see how he is to get any relief at all. If he bought his supply of salt for the whole year at one time, he might perhaps receive the greater portion of the 5d. by which the price ought to be reduced. But he does not buy in this wholesale way; he probably rarely buys a month's supply, and for this the utmost reduction he could claim would be less than a halfpenny. Is there the slightest chance of his getting this? and if he did get it, what good would it do him? If the Government of India desires to bestow a real benefit on the people in the matter of the salt tax, surely it can best do so by showing that "sympathy in collection" which it has enjoined on its officers in the matter of the land revenue, and order a cessation of prosecutions of the very poorest persons for petty offences against the law, such as endeavouring to manufacture some rough kind of salt for their own use or that of their cattle by the most primitive methods from products which Nature has placed within their reach.

The extension of the minimum on which income is to be paid will undoubtedly afford relief to a considerable number of people—I think between 300,000 and 400,000—and it will only cost £300,000. But, as I remarked in my paper, the small trader, whose income ranges from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 a year, is, in India, in very comfortable circumstances—as good, comparatively, as a person in England with £300 or £400 a year and it is this class which has benefited more, perhaps, than any other in India from British rule. The objection to taxing incomes under £1,000 is the great difficulty of ascertaining, with even an approach to accuracy, what individuals enjoy such an income. It is also true that in India, as well as in England, the income tax falls most heavily on persons with small fixed incomes, like clerks or annuitants, who have to keep up a respectable appearance and educate their children. On the whole, I think the extension of the minimum a wise step if the Government of India can afford the loss.

But can it afford it? The Budgets of recent years have

no doubt shown that the financial position of India is sound—that is, that in ordinary years, when there are no special calls on the Exchequer, the revenue is sufficient to meet current expenses and leave a surplus in hand. But the Financial Member of Council has repeatedly pointed out that whilst some of the main sources of income, such as the land revenue, are either inexpansive or capable only of slow and limited increase, others, like opium and some branches of the Customs, are most precarious. On the other hand, the channels of expenditure are capable of expansion to an almost unlimited degree. In almost every branch of the Civil Administration more money could be spent with real benefit to the people, and in many more is actually required to secure efficiency. To talk of reducing the military expenditure is ridiculous. The present Indian army is very small in proportion to the area and population it has to protect ; it is, in fact, sufficient only for police duties and for keeping in check or punishing Asiatic neighbours on the Frontier. As pointed out by Lord Curzon in his speech on the last Budget, the inevitable course of events is bringing India face to face with great European Powers—with Russia on the north-west and with France on the east. Putting aside the question of war with either or both of these Powers, it is plain that if the two “buffer” States of Afghanistan and Siam were to disappear, and India’s frontiers marched with those of Russia and France, a very large increase in the Indian army would be inevitable.

I am aware that it is regarded as an accepted principle of English finance that at any rate the great part of a surplus should be devoted to a reduction of taxation, but the principle appears to me to be based rather on the exigencies of the system of party Government than on sound policy. Each party taunts its opponents with the taxes they have imposed, and claims credit to itself for taxes remitted. Millions are thus sacrificed by the repeal of small duties which hurt no one in obedience to a clap-trap cry

for "free breakfast-table," and we now find "the strongest Government of modern times" driven to give up the small registration fee of 3d. a hundredweight on imported corn, which brought in over £2,000,000 a year, not because it doubts the wisdom of the policy which imposed the fee or because any practical evils have resulted from it, but because the fee "lends itself to misrepresentation," or, in other words, because charges of "taxing the food of the working man" and flaming pictures of a gigantic Liberal and a diminutive Tory loaf may have induced many working men to vote Radical at recent by-elections. It may be for the good of the country that £2,000,000 a year should be sacrificed in the hope of inducing these men to vote Tory next time, but in India the expenditure of public money in the purchase of votes is fortunately not yet a necessity. It sounded very fine for His Majesty on the occasion of the Delhi Durbar to hold out to the people of India a hope of a remission of a part of their "burdens," but when the realization of this hope costs India £1,200,000, one cannot refrain from asking, Who will be the better for this? It was a Liberal leader—I believe it was Sir Henry Fowler—who a few years ago asked a meeting of working men if the last reduction in the Beer Tax had made their beer any cheaper or any better. There was a general shout of "No!" and it is difficult to see how there could have been any other answer. How could the reduction of, say, 6d. on a barrel of beer be made to reach the purchaser of a single glass? And how can the reduction of a 1d. on 10 pounds of salt, or of 3d. per hundredweight in the price of corn, be made to reach the consumer who buys his salt by ounces and his bread by the single loaf? What would be said in private life of a man who, being heavily in debt, with no prospect of an increase in his income, but a very great one in his expenses, endeavoured to improve his financial position by curtailing not his expenditure but his income?

## INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL: THEIR GRIEVANCES AS BRITISH CITIZENS.\*

BY SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.

WE all know that our Indian fellow-subjects have been having a bad time in South Africa, and sympathy with them has been pretty general in this country. Their case is a hard one, because their misfortunes have not been brought about by any misconduct on their part: the great bulk of them have come into the colonies as useful cultivators, traders, professional men, and domestic servants; as cultivators they originally came on the pressing invitation of the white colonists, and they have been the making of Natal, which, by the help of their skilled labour, has earned the title of the "Garden Colony"; as petty traders and hawkers they have, on favourable terms, supplied the needs of the farmers scattered over the veldt, and of the poorer classes generally; while as domestic servants all who have experience of Indians know that none better can be found in the world. Law-abiding, industrious, peaceful, and loyal, the Indian settlers are model citizens of the Empire. Why, then, have they been regarded with hostility by the white inhabitants in the various colonies, and subjected to special laws which impose upon them injurious and humiliating disqualifications? From one colony they are excluded altogether; in another a heavy poll-tax is imposed upon them; in another they are forbidden to reside or trade except in separate "locations"; in another they may not own land, or move about without a pass; while local bye-laws are framed forbidding them to walk on the footpaths, or to use the public conveyances. When we seek to trace the causes which have led to such undeserved persecution of a harmless and useful community, we find that these causes are of a complicated kind, arising

\* See the Proceedings of the East India Association, elsewhere in this *Review*, for the discussion on this paper.

out of the peculiar circumstances of the colonies concerned. In South Africa the white colonists of all races form but a small portion of the total population. Surrounded by vast numbers of Kafirs, who still live under the tribal system, they have been accustomed, for their own security, to impose certain restrictions on their black neighbours, making them reside in their kraals, and regulating their behaviour when visiting the white townships. This peculiar attitude, arising in great measure from the instinct of self-preservation, of the white population towards the coloured races, has operated very unfavourably in the case of the Indians ; for it has made it easy for their opponents to get them included, on account of their colour, among those subjected to special restrictions ; ignoring the wide difference between the African tribal races and the Indians, who are the heirs of an ancient civilization. As regards the originating cause of the anti-Indian legislation, no doubt prejudice as to colour and race has its share. But from a perusal of the Blue-Books it becomes evident that economic interests are at the bottom of the hostile movement, and that trade jealousy has been the incentive which quickened antagonism into active persecution. The real offence of the Indians is that they are skilful traders, and have competed actively with the Europeans storekeepers in the towns ; and these have used their influence with the legislature and municipalities to handicap inconvenient rivals, by banishing them to locations, after the fashion of Kafir kraals, and by imposing upon them the worry of passes and trade licenses.

Against these oppressions and indignities the Indian community have persistently protested, and have memorialized the authorities, both Governors in South Africa and Secretaries of State at Whitehall. But although sympathy has been expressed, little substantial redress has as yet been afforded. My present object in this paper is to suggest means by which we may assist these memorialists in obtaining a reasonable settlement of their claims. I propose therefore to divide my subject into three parts, considering

(1) the present attitude of the authorities ; (2) the principles upon which the decision should be based ; and (3) the practical steps that may now be taken. In order that my remarks may be brought within reasonable compass, I will limit myself to one colony ; and I have selected the Transvaal, partly because, in respect of that colony, we have full and authentic information regarding the Indian grievances, and partly because the Transvaal, being still a Crown colony, is under the sole authority of the Colonial Office, so that the case is not there complicated by any question of divided responsibility.

(1) THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF THE AUTHORITIES.

The most recent pronouncement, by the home authorities, regarding the position of Indians in the Transvaal, is that contained in Mr. Chamberlain's answer of May 21st, to Mr. Herbert Roberts, in the House of Commons. In his question Mr. Roberts drew attention to the notification issued at Pretoria on April 8 last, directing the enforcement of the Boer laws of 1885 and 1886, which imposed disqualifications on Indian British subjects, as regards residence and trade ; and he inquired whether any circumstances had arisen to necessitate the revival and enforcement, under British rule, of the restrictions imposed by the late Boer Government. In his reply Mr. Chamberlain said that the notice in question enforces the laws referred to with due regard to the vested interests of traders, and with a provision for the exemption of educated Asiatics from residence in places specially set apart for Asiatics. He explained that according to Lord Milner it was necessary to take this step pending fresh legislation, in view of public feeling, but that the existing law was being carried out in the most lenient manner possible. In conclusion Mr. Chamberlain promised carefully to consider the whole question, on receipt of Lord Milner's despatch, now expected.

This answer is in one respect satisfactory, because it assures us that Mr. Chamberlain will personally inquire

into the merits of the case, and will himself give judgment on the important constitutional issues involved. We know that Mr. Chamberlain is a statesman who has the courage of his opinions. There is therefore hope in this assurance. On the other hand it is most unfortunate that, pending Mr. Chamberlain's decision, Lord Milner should have taken action which so seriously prejudices the position of these Indian British subjects in their claim for equal justice. Since the annexation of the republics, the Indians have been in the position of British citizens in British territory; and the burden of proof is on their opponents to show the necessity for now imposing upon them special race disabilities, foreign to the spirit of British law. Lord Milner ought therefore to have maintained the *status quo*, pending the decision by the Imperial authorities upon what is clearly an Imperial question. Instead of this, he has, by the recent notification, deprived the Indians of their status as British citizens, reviving the obnoxious regulations of the late Boer Government, although the principle of these regulations has been emphatically condemned by the home authorities. Such a suspension of natural privileges is nothing less than a disaster to the Indian community at the present juncture. But Lord Milner has gone further even than this. Under the Boer Government the anti-Indian regulations were in abeyance, because President Kruger refrained from enforcing them, yielding in this respect to the remonstrances of Mr. Chamberlain. Now for the first time they are being really enforced, not in the casual fashion that would have marked the old régime, but with the rigour of British official methods. The Indians are thus worse off now than they have ever been before. And it is further to be noticed that these hardships have now been sprung upon them without an allegation of the smallest misconduct on their part. On the contrary, it is universally admitted that throughout the recent troubles the Indians have shown themselves loyal and useful citizens, rendering the most valuable services to the sick and wounded during the war.

(2) THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THE DECISION SHOULD  
BE BASED.

We have now to consider the reason given by Lord Milner for his action in reviving and enforcing, at this particular moment, the anti-Indian regulations which have been dormant up to the present time. The reason given is quite a general one. According to Lord Milner this step was necessary "in view of public feeling." What is the public feeling here referred to? And how far is it a feeling founded on reason and justice? The feeling referred to is of course that of the local white community, or rather of that section antagonistic to the Indians. But when we seek to trace the origin of this antagonism we find no solid ground of complaint against the Indian community. Trade jealousy, combined with race prejudice, appear to have been at the root of the hostile movement. And this seems to have been the view taken by Mr. Chamberlain from the first. It was expressed by him, before the war broke out, in answer to a memorial of the Indians against the Location Law. In his despatch of September 4, 1895, to Sir Hercules Robinson (Blue-Book, p. 48, of 1895) he said that the memorialists had his sympathy, and that he believed them to be a peaceable, law-abiding, and meritorious body of persons; and he concluded by suggesting that the South African Republic, in the interest of its own burghers, should treat the Indians more generously, and free itself from even the appearance of countenancing a trade jealousy, which he had some reason to believe did not emanate from the governing class in the republic. In other words, he thought the movement against the Indians arose from a monopolist feeling among the Uitlander traders, and did not originate with the Boers at all. And this view is confirmed by the Dutch and English petitions, regarding the proposed exclusion of Indians, which will be found at p. 43 of the Blue-Book. The Dutch petition, signed by 484 persons, runs as follows: "We, the undersigned burghers, beg

respectfully to state that so far from the burghers being opposed to these people stopping and trading in the State, they recognise in them a peaceful and law-abiding, and therefore desirable class of people. To the poor they are a veritable blessing, inasmuch as by their keen competition they keep down the prices of necessities of life, which they can do owing to their thrifty and temperate habits. We venture to submit that their withdrawal from the State will be a dire calamity to us, especially those of us who, living far away from centres of business, depend upon the Indians for the supply of our daily wants." Similarly the English petition, signed by 1,340 persons, protests against the agitation set up against the Indians residing or trading freely in the country: "We firmly believe," it continues, "that the agitation owes its origin not to their habits as regards sanitation, but to trade jealousy, because, owing to their frugal and temperate habits, they have been able to keep down the prices of necessities of life, and have therefore been an inestimable boon to the poor classes of the society in the State. We do not believe any good cause exists for compelling them to reside or trade in separate quarters."

So far, therefore, as we can judge, the "public feeling" of the local white community, to which Lord Milner has yielded such unusual deference, is not of a kind to command general respect. Moreover this question, affecting the rights of British citizens all over the world, is essentially an Imperial one, to be decided, not by local prejudice, but by the central authority, in accordance with the established principles of the Empire. Those principles have been well stated in a letter recently addressed to the Colonial Office by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, protesting against the legislative exclusion of British Indians from the South African colonies: "This exclusion," it says, "appears to the Chamber to be unjust to the natives of India, who are considered to be entitled to the same rights as other subjects of the King, of free movement and residence in any part of the Empire, entirely unrestricted by any legislation such as that com-

plained of. It is regarded as impolitic also, and as prejudicial to the interests of the colonies themselves. The Chamber entertains, not without reason, a high opinion of the qualifications of His Majesty's Indian-born subjects for their good citizenship, their intelligence, their industry, their peaceful disposition, and their commercial aptitudes." This declaration of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce voices the traditional British policy ; and I submit that such an expression of the "public feeling" of Lancashire is more deserving of consideration than the interested clamours of the Transvaal monopolists. Again, is it wise to ignore the public feeling of India? That was not the view of Lord Lansdowne when (after the war had broken out) he made an important speech at the Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield, in November, 1899. Speaking as a member of the Cabinet, and a former Viceroy of India, he declared that India had "a special interest in this Transvaal question." He went on to say, "A considerable number of the Queen's Indian subjects are to be found in the Transvaal, and amongst the many misdeeds of the South African Republic I do not know that any fills me with more indignation than its treatment of these Indians. And the harm is not confined to the sufferers on the spot ; for what do you imagine would be the effect produced in India when these poor people return to their country to report to their friends that the Government of the Empress, so mighty and irresistible in India with its population of three hundred millions, is powerless to secure redress at the hands of a small South African State?" If Lord Lansdowne had answered his own question, he would no doubt have said that, if the great British Empire failed to obtain redress for its Indian subjects, the public feeling in India would have been that of contempt, as well as indignation. If so, what will now be the feeling in India if this same great British Empire shows itself powerless to redress these same grievances, because it lacks the courage to face a small interested clique of its own subjects? Look at it whichever way we

may, our position is a humiliating one. What is our boasted Empire worth if the Mother Country is to be compelled to abandon her principles at the dictation of the youngest of her children? I remember, in the days when Lord Dunsyre was in fashion, he used to be fond of conundrums, and his favourite one was, Why does a dog wag his tail? the answer was, Because he is stronger than his tail; otherwise the tail would wag the dog. In the present case it appears that hitherto the colony has shown itself stronger than the Empire, and that it is the tail that wags the dog.

### (3) THE PRACTICAL STEPS THAT MAY NOW BE TAKEN.

Such being generally the conflicting principles involved, there remains to consider what practical steps should be taken to obtain fair-play for the Indians in South Africa? And my first point is that we should begin by limiting our action to the case of one single colony, and that colony should be the Transvaal. There are various reasons for this suggestion. In the different colonies circumstances differ, and by concentrating our attention upon one colony, we shall be better able to bring the matter to a simple issue. Again, it is desirable to select a Crown colony as being directly under the Colonial Office. No doubt Indians have grave cause of complaint in Cape Colony and Natal, but in dealing with those self-governing colonies we are hampered by the constitutional difficulty; whereas in the new colonies Mr. Chamberlain has a free hand: by an executive order he can sweep away the race disabilities and indignities complained of, leaving a clean slate, on which need only be written what is right and reasonable, and in harmony with British traditions. These race questions are essentially Imperial questions; they are causing dissensions in the Australian as well as in the South African colonies; and the opportunity is a golden one for giving a straight lead in the matter to the whole colonial world.

Mr. Chamberlain has undertaken carefully to consider the whole question; so now is the time for the public to

speak ; and I would submit that three points should specially be urged upon him. First, that before any anti-Indian legislation is sanctioned, a full and formal inquiry as to the necessity for such legislation should be made by an impartial authority under the direction of the Colonial Office ; secondly, that the burden of proof lies entirely upon those who desire to impose disabilities upon the Indians, or any other class of His Majesty's subjects ; and thirdly, that pending the inquiry, the Pretoria notification of April 8 last should be withdrawn, so as to place all the parties on a fair and equal footing. So far as we can judge from the records, trade jealousy and race prejudice have been the principal inciting causes of enmity. But it also appears that objection has been taken to the Indians on social, sanitary, and economic grounds ; and it is further pleaded that South Africa is a white man's country, and he is entitled to check an excessive influx of Asiatics. If these are the contentions, by all means let the opponents of the Indians bring forward their evidence and adduce their arguments. But the question should be decided by an impartial Imperial authority ; and the Indians should have full opportunity for their defence, and further should be allowed to show *per contra* how their presence in the colony benefits the community at large. I notice that in a recent speech, at the Transvaal Municipal Congress, Lord Milner gave his adhesion to the doctrine of equal rights for every civilized man, irrespective of race and colour. It may therefore be hoped that he will not be unwilling to reconsider his attitude towards the whole of the present question.

It is not the practice of the East India Association to pass resolutions on the questions debated before it, but if my suggestions be adopted, perhaps the Association might undertake a deputation to the Colonial Secretary, and present to him a memorial in favour of the redress of these Indian grievances. I may mention that after a conference held last year on the same subject, a deputation waited on Lord George Hamilton, from whom

they received a very sympathetic hearing, and I would refer those interested in the subject to the proceedings as reported in the journal *India* of October 24 and November 7 last. In conclusion, I might allude to one point in Mr. Chamberlain's answer to Mr. Roberts on May 21. He said that the laws complained of will be enforced in the most lenient manner possible. But this rather reminds me of Izaak Walton when he advises the angler who is impaling a frog upon his hook, to use him as though he loved him. What is objected to is not the mode of administration, but the whole principle of these penal restrictions. The hook is what the frog objects to, and all the loving-kindness of the angler in adjusting it will do him little good. I sincerely trust that the result of Mr. Chamberlain's consideration will be a decision which will be in accordance with the best traditions of our nation. We may, with some confidence, hope to find a powerful ally in Lord Curzon, who, as Viceroy of India, is the natural protector of Indian British subjects in all parts of the world.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

THE Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists, held in Rome in 1899, have at last appeared. Volumes II. and III. (the latter in two parts) are now before me.\* These fine volumes are, unfortunately, full of misprints. Their revision seems to have been very defective. It is evidently this serious neglect, as well as the great delay in their publication, that resulted in the regrettable decision which was arrived at by the Congress of Hamburg not to publish the acts of that Congress.†

We have to note the new edition, entirely revised, of the Egyptian grammar by A. Erman,‡ a remarkably clear and accurate work. It will be extremely useful to those who study Semitic languages, and particularly to the Hebraist and the historian of Israel, for obtaining a knowledge of the old Egyptian. It is not that I am struck, like the author, with the affinity of the Egyptian with Semitic languages, but that the relations of Israel with Egypt were so intimate that linguistic influence affected both languages.

In the last volume (twelfth) published of the "Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche" (3<sup>te</sup> Aufl., von Hauck),§ I have to point out two very interesting articles by Kessler on the Mandæans and the Manicheans. We learn with pleasure that the second volume of Kessler's very remarkable work on Mani (Forschungen über die manichäische Religion)|| will be published during the current year.

In the part last published of the "Dictionnaire de la Bible," by the Abbé Vigouroux (Part XXII., Joppé-Kurzeniecki),¶ it should be mentioned that there are some interesting articles on Biblical geography, such as Jordan, tribe of Judah, Kir Moab, etc. This part completes the third volume (G—K). To these geographical studies must be added a very complete monography on Jarash (جرش) by Schumacher, which appeared in the "Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins" (Vol. XXV., Parts III., IV.)\*\*.

## ASSYRIOLOGY.

Schrader's "Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament" (3<sup>te</sup> Aufl., von Zimmern und Winckler) has now been completed by the publication of

\* Florence: Société Typographique Florentine, 1902.

† Regarding this decision, see the article by Professor R. Basset, published in the "Questions diplomatiques et coloniales" (January 1, 1903, Paris). This article expresses the same opinion contained in our Report for January, 1903.

‡ "Ägyptische Grammatik." Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1902.

§ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.

|| Berlin: Reimer, 1899.

¶ Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903.

\*\* Leipzig: Baedeker, 1902.

the last part (II. Hälfte, 2 Schluss-Lieferung).\* This volume treats of the following subjects: Religion, superstitions, hymns, and prayers, Babylonian ideas of the universe (heaven, earth, planets, the zodiac, and the beyond), and the connection between the Assyrio-Babylonian and the Hebraic languages. It contains, in addition, tables and an index to the whole work, as also a very good map of the Euphrates and Tigris districts, and neighbouring countries such as Palestine, Sinai, the Delta, etc.

In the compilation "Der alte Orient,"† Winckler has published a translation, accompanied with an introduction and notes, of the celebrated text of the "Laws of Hammurabi," King of Babylon, *circa* 2250 B.C. This extremely important document was discovered by De Morgan during his excavations at Susa. How came this Babylonian monument to be transported to Susa? It is probable that the same King of Elam—Shutruknakhunta—who, amongst other Babylonian works, had removed as a trophy to his capital the celebrated stela of Naramsin, *circa* 3000 B.C., also took away a part of this valuable monument from Chaldea, and carried it home as spoil to Susa.

The same stela of Hammurabi has given rise to the interesting work of Joh. Jeremias, "Moses und Hammurabi."‡ The author concludes from the comparison he makes between the laws of Hammurabi's code and those of the Pentateuch the possibility of an ancient edition of a code by Moses himself. He expresses the hypothesis that in the customary law of the ancient Arabians are to be found traces of a common tradition, of Arab origin, and extending back to Moses and Hammurabi.

In the compilation "Der alte Orient" (1 Jahrgang, Heft 3, 2<sup>te</sup> verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage§), Alfred Jeremias treats of hell and heaven according to the Babylonians. This interesting publication is accompanied by ten drawings after the monuments.

As regards the publication of F. Delitzsch on "Babel und Bibel,"|| it speaks so much for itself that it is quite unnecessary for us to draw attention to this highly interesting pamphlet.

#### THE OLD TESTAMENT: HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE AND RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

In the first place, we have to point out a general work which has been much discussed in France, the scientific and liberal spirit of which has brought down on its author the censure of the clerical authorities: "La question biblique chez les catholiques de France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," by the Abbé A. Houtin,¶ having, in fact, been placed on the Index Prohibitorius. In this volume the author relates, with a complete knowledge of the facts and with the utmost impartiality, the scientific religious movement in the midst of French Catholicism from 1800 to 1900. The biblical critic, especially as regards matters concerning the Old Testament, takes an important part. We recommend this work to our readers.

\* Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1903.

† Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902.

‡ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.

§ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.

|| 3<sup>te</sup> Ausg.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.

¶ Paris: Picard, 1902.

The *Song of Solomon* continues to call forth numerous publications, among which are to be found some that are extraordinary and others curious. Under the title of "La clé du Cantique des Cantiques,"\* Pasteur Fraisse gives a symbolic interpretation of the book, which would form a page of the national history of Israel, and at the same time political, religious, and moral, written at the end of Solomon's reign, but lengthened by an epilogue on the time of the schism.

According to the writer, there are three heroines in the Song: the first virgin (Chap. I.—III. 5) is the symbol of the priestly tribe; the second virgin (Chap. III. 6—VI. 10), represents the military and theocratic element; and the third, or Shulamite (VI. 10—VIII. 7), represents the members of Solomon's court.

The latest commentators of the Song, such as Budde and Siegfried, perceive, and rightly so, in these celebrated poems a song or collection of nuptial songs. According to Jacob,† it is not a question of nuptials, nor of marriage, but of erotic songs of a very low class, which recall to mind in certain passages the obscenities in the representations of the Turk Karagez.

Quite different is the publication by Haupt of "The Book of Canticles, or the Song of Songs,"‡ a new rhythmical translation, with restorations of the Hebrew text and explanatory and critical notes. Haupt says that the Canticles is not the work of one poet, but a late post-exilic collection of popular nuptial songs and love-ditties, which may all have been sung at weddings, although they were not originally composed for this purpose. They were probably compiled in the neighbourhood of Damascus after the beginning of the Seleucidan era, 312 B.C. Haupt admits that it may be impossible to recover the original songs, but he believes that the traditional arrangement may be very much improved. Canticles is not a *divan* collected by the poet himself, but a collection of popular songs by various authors, made by a later compiler. The explanatory and critical notes are of a high scientific value.

Under the title "Critica Biblica,"§ Cheyne has commenced the publication of a collection of entirely new notes on textual difficulties of the Hebrew Bible. These notes are in consequence of the closer examination of difficulties which appeared to the author to be required for the due performance of his editorial duties in connection with the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. Part I. contains Isaiah and Jeremiah, Part II. Ezekiel and the minor prophets. "Taking as his starting-point the results of able textual critics like Lagarde and Wellhausen, the author has sought to complete, and if possible correct, their work by the fuller application of old methods in conjunction with new, and it is upon these new methods, suggested by a large mass of overlooked facts, that he lays the chief stress." This quotation shows that the "Critica Biblica" are written from the same

\* Paris: Fischbacher, 1903.

† "Das Hohelied, auf Grund arabischer und anderer Parallelen von neuem untersucht." Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1902.

‡ Chicago, 1902 (reprinted from the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*).

§ Two vols. in 8vo. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903.

point of view as the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, both being works of a high scientific order.

Strack has published in the series of "Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin" (No. 31) the Hebrew text, with notes and a Hebrew-German vocabulary, of *Ecclesiasticus*.<sup>\*</sup> This is a very useful publication for Hebrew scholars, and we recommend it very warmly to Universities.

In his work entitled "Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter,"<sup>†</sup> W. Bousset discusses and explains the evolution of the Jewish religion in the last centuries which preceded the advent of Christianity and at the beginning of the Christian era, and he points out the influence which the old heathen religions, such as the Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Egyptian, exercised upon it with such penetrative force.

The matriarchate, more especially in Israel, is the subject of an interesting work by Matthes in the "Teyler's theologisch Tijdschrift" (1st year, No. 1),<sup>‡</sup> *Het matriarchaat inzonderheid bij Israel*.

#### TALMUDICAL AND RABBINICAL LITERATURE.

The publication of the "Talmud of Babylon" (text and German translation) by L. Goldschmidt has been enriched by a new fascicule—the treatise *שְׁבוּעוֹת* (vom Eid), forming the fourth part of Vol. VII. §

The study of modern Hebraic literature is the subject of an extremely interesting and well-written work by N. Slouschz, to which we have repeatedly referred in our Reports on the remarkable publications in the Hebrew language. Under the title of "La renaissance de la littérature hébraïque (1743-1885),"|| Slouschz has presented as a thesis of Doctorship before the Faculté des Lettres de Paris an important essay of literary history, from the time of Luzzato, with his allegorical drama *Layescharim Tehilla* (Glory to the Just, 1743), down to the novels of Smolensky (*Haoumgue*, The Reward, 1868; *Divine Vengeance*, 1884), and the writings of contemporaneous Jewish authors. As Slouschz well points out, accounted rabbinical and casuistic, the modern Hebraical literature presents, on the contrary, a character distinctly rational; it is anti-dogmatic and anti-rabbinic. Its aims are to enlighten the Jewish masses who have remained faithful to their religious traditions, and to impress upon the minds of Israelitic communities the conceptions of modern life.

#### THE ARABIC LANGUAGE: ISLAM AND MUSSULMAN COUNTRIES.

In the purely linguistic world we must point out in the first place the new German-Arabic dictionary by E. Harder,<sup>¶</sup> which appears to us to be of much practical use.

"L'arabe à l'école primaire,"<sup>\*\*\*</sup> by E. Viala and E. Jacquard, is a very well-composed manual, and destined to be of great service in teaching

\* Leipzig: Deichert, 1903.

† Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1903.

‡ Haarlem, 1903.

§ Berlin: Calvary, 1903.

|| Paris: Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition, 1902.

¶ "Deutsch-arabisches Handwörterbuch." Heidelberg: Winter, 1903.

\*\*\* Miliana: Legendre, 1903.

vulgar Arabic in Algeria and Tunis. The authors, the former being the head legal interpreter at Lalla Marnia (near the Moroccan frontier) and the latter a schoolmaster at Oran, are both thoroughly versed in the knowledge of the Algerian dialect. The manual which they have written for use in the primary schools comes quite up to all expectations, on account of the clearness, simplicity of method, the graduated construction of the exercises, the multiplicity of examples, and the large number of colloquial phrases contained therein. The authors have kept in view the fact that in Algeria it is in this way that one has to acquire a knowledge of Arabic.

In the "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete" (Part XVII.)\* Goldziher has continued his studies, which are of great interest, on the hyperbolic forms of the Arabic writing and language (*Hyperbolische Typen im Arabischen*); he discusses in this article the comparisons of identity (for example, *a date resembles a date*, Ag. XX. 128, 25), and the formula indicating the act of crying out in a loud voice (example, *to cry with the fulness of the head, of the skin, of the stomach*, etc., comparing the French *crier à pleine bouche*).

To Mr. R. Basset, the eminent Arabicist of Algiers, is due the publication (text, translation, and commentary) of the famous treatise on Arabic metres by Ali al Khazraji, known under the name of *Khazrajiyah*.† This didactic poem on Arabic metre is one of the oldest extant. Ali al Khazraji, of a family originally belonging to Granada, lived in Alexandria. He died either in 626, 627, or 650 of the Hegira. His poem, which was composed on the metre Kâmil, consists of ninety-seven verses. After defining metre and feet, he describes the syllables which compose the feet; then he enumerates in detail the different parts of the verses, and the modifications which they undergo at the beginning and end of the hemistich, as well as any licenses, authorized or not. He afterwards describes the different kinds of verse, and concludes with rhyme, the letters of which they are formed, and the errors which are there committed. As it may be easily understood on such a subject, the work of Ali al Khazraji is often obscure and wanting in preciseness. Arabicists should be thankful to Mr. R. Basset for his learned publication of this difficult text, and for the commentaries which follow the translation.

We have to point out in the *Journal Asiatique* for September-October, 1902, a full report which Mr. Basset presented to the Congress of Orientalists of Hamburg upon Berber and Hausa studies (1897-1902). In this report will be found important information on Shalh'a and the dialects of the Moorish Rif.

We also notice quite a series of pamphlets on Islam and Mussulman countries. First a well-written and judicious study on the principal characters of Islam of to-day (*Le odierne tendenze dell'Islamo*)‡ by Nallino, then an interesting tract by Martin Hartmann in the collection "Der islamische Orient" (V.)§; *Mesreb der weise Narr und fromme Ketzer*, a

\* Strassburg: Trübner, 1902.

† Algiers: Fontana, 1902 ("Publications du Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie").

‡ Florence, 1902 ("Estratto dagli Studii religiosi," fasc. i., 1902).

§ Berlin: Wolf Peiser, 1902.

popular story of Central Asia. Also a curious correspondence in Arabic, published by Le Chatelier,\* showing the active part which the Senussiya fraternity exercised in organizing and arming indigenous forces against French troops in the Lake Chad district from November, 1901, to January, 1902; and in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* (March 15, 1903) are some notes and impressions of a journey to Figig by Doutté, the notes on this celebrated oasis being very instructive. Also a study by Chauvin on "le jet des pierres au pèlerinage de la Mecque."† According to the Mussulman explanation of this rite, the throwing of stones in the valley of Mina recalls to mind the temptation of Abraham when the Devil wanted to persuade him to disobey God by refusing to sacrifice Ismail (Isaac). This interpretation is a proof of a tendency in Islam to restore to the true religion ceremonies of pagan origin. According to Chauvin, this was an ancient ceremony to secure, by means of taking an annual possession, the inviolability of Meccan territory, which was necessary for the processions and tours of pagan times—an original and interesting explanation. Finally, there are two tracts on Morocco. The first is a study of the country from a political and economical standpoint by P. Mohr,‡ in which is to be found some useful information, especially as regards commerce. The second is a religious study on "les tas de pierres sacrés (*Karkor*) et quelques pratiques connexes dans le sud du Maroc," by Doutté.§ This work, full of documents, explains the different theories which have been advanced in interpreting the origin of these *Karkor* by Moroccans and European savants. The author gives an account of the Moroccan custom, and similar ones, such as knots being made on the branches of trees, suspension of rags, etc., by the theory of transfer of evil. In an ordinary way it is a question of the transfer of evil by means of the stone which is thrown and by means of the tree, etc.; it was not till afterwards that the explanation was arrived at as that of being symbolic of the offering to a saint. We strongly recommend the perusal of this study.

A new history of Arabic literature has been published by one of the most competent scholars on this subject—Cl. Huart.|| It extends from its anti-Islamic origins down to the present day. This bulky volume of 470 pages is very agreeable reading. Its plan and style are nearly the same as the larger one by Brockelmann on the same subject, and which we reviewed in a former Report. Huart writes in a less dry style, but his book being intended for the general public, he has omitted the valuable bibliographical notices of Brockelmann. Notwithstanding the value of these publications, their extreme brevity makes us fervently hope that an Arabist will undertake to write an elaborate history of Arabic literature, a subject on which there exists no general work, except the imperfect one of Hammer-Purgstall.

One of the more important publications by the *École des Langues*

\* *Revue Générale des Sciences Pures et Appliquées*. Paris: Juillet, 1902.

† Antwerp, 1902 (extract from the *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, fifth series, vol. iv.).

‡ "Marokko, eine politisch-wirtschaftliche Studie." Berlin: Siemenroth, 1902.

§ Algiers: Heintz, 1903.

|| Paris: Colin, 1902.

orientales vivantes de Paris, the first volume only having as yet appeared, is the translation of "Traditions islamiques" of the celebrated Mussulman theologian Al Bokhāri, by Houdas and Marçais.\* The names of these two Orientalists, known by their remarkable works, are a guarantee of the excellence of the translation and of the scientific value of the work.

The well-printed volume issued by the Imprimerie Nationale, which is now before us, includes the titles 1 to 33 on revelation, faith, science, ablutions, prayer, Friday, feasts, rogations, funerals, tithe, pilgrimage, etc. We cannot praise too highly those Arabicists who place within reach of the educated public the great works on Mussulman theology and literature; by their difficult and delicate labours they render the greatest of service to Oriental science.

Several important works relating to African Islam deserve to be mentioned, all of which have been published in France. The first we deal with is entitled "Le Commandant Lamy d'après sa correspondance et ses souvenirs de campagne (1858-1900)," by Commandant Reibell (Algeria, Tunisia, Tonkin, Sahara, Congo, Madagascar, Sudan).† The greater part of this large volume is devoted to Mussulman Africa. Commandant Lamy, the hero of the Foureau-Lamy Mission, which travelled from Algeria to Lake Chad across the Sahara, was killed on April 22, 1900, in the fight at Koucheri. Lamy was one of the best-versed men in the knowledge of Mussulman Africa, hence the great interest of his African correspondence.

De Segonzac has published an account of his "Voyages au Maroc" (1899-1901),‡ with numerous illustrations. This explorer has made three journeys in that country, traversing the Riff twice; he also crossed the Brâber country and visited Sus. He was still in the country at the time of my visit.§ The very interesting work he has just published has been written from a topographical point of view. He has published separately a collection of plates on which are reproduced the topographical surveys of his several journeys.

Le Chatelier, the well-known Africanist, whose important works we have announced from time to time, has inaugurated the publication of a collection which will prove of very great interest, and in which will be included material for the study of Mussulman countries. The first volume of this collection has been published by G. Ferrand, and is entitled "Les Çomâlis."|| It is an abridged review of our knowledge of the Somalis from the pre-historic period down to the twentieth century. The author visited Somaliland in 1882-83, and since 1884 has been occupied on a series of publications relating to the country and language of the Somalis. The new work which he has written includes some valuable information on the history and exploration of the country, its traditions, tribes, social organization, music and songs, and, lastly, on the Islam of Somaliland and the Mahdi

\* Paris: Leroux, 1903.

† Paris: Hachette, 1903 (pp. xvii and 580 in 8vo.).

‡ Paris: Colin, 1903.

§ "Voyage au Maroc," by Dr. Montet, is now in the press, and will appear shortly in the "Tour du Monde" (Paris: Hachette).—ED.

|| Paris: Leroux, 1903.

Muhammad bin Abdullah (the Mad Mulla). In short, it is like a small encyclopædia of Somaliland, the perusal of which we recommend to all those who are interested in the fate of this part of Africa.

We shall conclude by mentioning a very important work by E. Fumey, first dragoman of the French Legation in Morocco. This is the "*Choix de correspondances marocaines*" (fifty official letters of the Sherifian Court), which will be of much help in the study of the administrative epistolary style used in Morocco. I happened to be in Morocco at the time the author was preparing the materials for this publication,\* and can testify to the care he has taken. The first volume contains the facsimile text of the letters, followed by very valuable notes (linguistic, historic, etc.) on these documents, also the reproduction in Arabic printed characters of those parts of the text which are difficult to read in the original. The second volume includes the translation. The first letter is from the Sultan Sidi Muhammad I. (Sidi Muhammad bin Abdullah), and dated A.H. 1198 (A.D. 1784); the last is from the present Sultan 'Abdal 'Aziz, dated A.D. 1899 (letter to President Loubet on the occasion of his election). This official correspondence is of very great interest; it gives us not only a knowledge of Morocco and Moroccan affairs, but acquaints us with the language and epistolary style of the Sherifian Court, and the changes which it has undergone since the end of the eighteenth century. The collection which Fumey has published with unquestionable competency and knowledge of Mussulman literature and the Moroccan world, acquired privately during a sojourn of seven years, renders the best services, whether to Arabicists and diplomats, whom Morocco specially interests, or to the pupils of the schools of Oriental languages and aspirants to the position of dragomans, who, in several countries of Europe, propose to go to Morocco to commence their career there.

\* Paris : Maisonneuve, 1903, 2 vols. in 8vo

## THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT HANOI.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.,  
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### OPPORTUNITY OF THE CONGRESS.

THE special Congress of Orientalists—or, as it was afterwards formally termed, the “First International Congress of Far-Eastern Studies”—was held from December 4 to 10 last at Hanoi, and well deserves more than a passing notice in the pages of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

Planned and initiated by a strong committee of Oriental savants in Paris, headed by Professor Sénart; ably and carefully organized by the École Française d'Extrême Orient, which Monsieur Doumer had so thoughtfully founded three years ago at Saigon, but which was about the middle of last year transferred to Hanoi, the newly-proclaimed capital of French Indo-China; patronized by that genial Governor-General of whom the titanic work he has done for the colony entrusted to his care begins now to meet on all sides with full though somewhat tardy recognition, and subsequently by his amiable successor in office, Monsieur Beau, to whom ultimately befell the pleasing task of presiding at its formal opening, the Congress in question can indeed be said to have been born under favourable auspices. On the other hand, the happy idea of having it made to coincide with the exhibition so brilliantly organized at Hanoi with the Philadelphian object of revealing Indo-China to the world and the world to the populations of Indo-China; the fact of having assigned as the theatre of its labours the æsthetically charming and historically fascinating metropolis of that colony, Hanoi, for over twenty-two centuries the capital of successive indigenous kingdoms, lying in the midst of a region as yet so little

known to the Western world, and yet so redolent of interest to the Orientalist and ethnographer, let alone the average tourist, ever in search of the sensational and picturesque; strewn with the débris of the most varied civilizations which have alternately encroached, crystallized, and stratified upon one another, as well as with the ruins of conspicuous monuments and cities, which they have, each in its turn, erected and overthrown; teeming with a variety of races, languages, and creeds which offer one of the most promising fields for Oriental research, it will not seem unnatural that the Congress should arouse great expectations.

For the first time, in fact, a splendid and most favourable occasion was offered to the votaries of Oriental studies from the Far West of not only discussing, but investigating and perhaps arriving at a solution, on the spot itself, of some of the far-reaching problems connected with the knowledge of the past, as well as the actual ethnography of that region. At the same time an opportunity was thrown open to local scholars, and to the labourers in the field of Oriental research scattered all over the Far East and deprived in general, by reason of the great intervening distance, of the benefits of the European Congresses of the kind, to meet in a common centre for a common object and a mutual exchange of views, so as to shape their individual efforts to a common end, with permanent advantage for the achievement of serious and lasting results. All this, of course, without intending or pretending in the least to interfere with the ordinary routine of the general Oriental Congresses held in unbroken series in Europe, but, on the contrary, with the laudable intent of concurring indirectly to the prosecution of the ends they have in view, while in a certain measure supplementing them with object-lessons *in situ*, in so far as the Far East is concerned.

#### THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN CONGRESSES.

It is no esoteric secret, in fact, that the Far Eastern sections of the latest European Congresses were very poorly

attended and their labours followed by but indifferent results. This has been repeatedly observed in past Congresses, and the more remarkably so in the recent one held at Hamburg (September 4 to 10, 1902), where it was noticed that several sections—among which Indo-China and Malaysia—“were little frequented or attracted but a very small number of members.”\* A friend of mine who was present at the sittings of the Congress just referred to wrote to me these words: “Success for Hanoi: the French know how to do things well and make it (*i.e.*, the Congress) a success; the Orientalists here know nothing about Indo-China.” Though this observation may seem somewhat sweeping, it is no less true on the whole; and, at all events, it well expresses the feeling of an enthusiastic Orientalist, who had been sorely disappointed at the singularly meagre results hitherto attained by the labours of Far Eastern sections in European Congresses.

Oriental research, as it extends its range and deepens its reach, assumes great magnitude—*crescit et vires acquirit eundo*; its field becomes too vast to be embraced in one single grasp. It grows more exacting and more seclusive in its tendencies. Although this tendency is to a certain extent satisfied by apportioning the labours of European Congresses amongst several sections, so as to relegate each subject to its particular sphere, I am afraid the time has come when these Congresses will have ceased—at least as at present organized—to successfully focus really useful labour; and that it is the time for Africanists, Semitists, Indianists, and Further-Indianists, to have their special Congresses held within their own geographical areas, as Americanists have already done. The same want has made itself felt, and for analogous reasons, in Oriental societies; and we have an example of the need of such a scission in the recent formation of a Central Asian Society, as distinct from the Asiatic Society. I venture, therefore,

\* See Dr. E. Montet's account in last January's issue of this *Review*, p. 103.

to predict that it will be not many years before the already comatose and moribund Statutory Congresses in Europe will have either to die a natural death, brought on by inanition, superannuation, and obsolescence, which would be highly regrettable to many of their sanguine supporters, but no less certain and inevitable, as there are already even now ominous signs to that effect,\* or else, in order to prolong their life, these Congresses will have to change their scope and renovate themselves in accordance with the demands of the *mutata tempora*. They will have to aim at a higher and far more comprehensive scope, that is, at becoming a sort of International Parliament of Orientalism, acting like a common digesting and unifying centre for the work of the special or Regional Congresses, and from which the latter may derive authoritative support, moral as well as material, for the carrying out of their schemes and resolutions bearing on matters of general interest to the Orientalistic world. In short, they should become a sort of rendezvous for Oriental scholars, where these may at fixed periods meet and discuss questions of a more wide-reaching character which affect the drift and progress of Oriental studies in general. In such supreme assemblies the single regions or Congresses should be represented by delegates, and their decisions should be binding upon all Orientalistic bodies and institutions. This is what, in my opinion, is likely to ultimately happen, as, with the far too extensive field now lying open to Oriental research, it can no longer be expected that the whole ground can be covered at a few sittings of a Congress held triennially, no matter how the work is apportioned among multifarious sections, in order to achieve serious and lasting results. The details of such a work must be left to special Congresses held in the region itself, which forms the sphere of their researches, where facts can easily be investigated, and which it would be preposterous to deal with in Europe, thousands of miles away, and which can be competently threshed out and often

\* *Vide* Dr. Montet's report, p. 105.

definitely solved on the spot, thus saving waste of energy and time. This has been amply demonstrated by the Hanoi Congress, with which I am now concerned; and I have no doubt that the happy innovation so genially inaugurated, and the significant example thus set forth by French Indo-China, will prove the presage of the new order of things which I have ventured to foreshadow. Not only natural congruity and logic, but plain common-sense, demand that questions concerning a particular spot should be treated on the spot itself. Oriental countries form the most fitting and natural area, and a more congenial sphere for Oriental meetings. Thus a watchword—a reflex of the Monroe doctrine as applied to Orientalism—I would propose for the future, in so far as working out details are concerned: “Oriental Congresses in Oriental countries”; or, “Oriental countries for Oriental Congresses.”

#### SIDELIGHTS ON THE ATTENDANCE AT THE CONGRESS.

With the auspicious signs that ushered in its advent as narrated above, it is no wonder that the Oriental Congress held at Hanoi should have proved an unqualified and unprecedented success, surpassing by far the most sanguine expectations. To this happy result contributed in no small measure the facilities lavishly accorded by the Government of French Indo-China to the adherents to, and participators in, the Congress. Not only were ordinary members granted the usual reduction of 33 per cent.—as in the case of other Congresses—applicable to the passage on all French maritime lines leading to Indo-China, but members of the Congress delegated officially by Governments, societies, and *corps savants*, had the unprecedented advantage of a free passage, food included, on all the lines of navigation afore-stated.

Notwithstanding such favourable privileges, it is regrettable that more Oriental scholars did not take advantage of such a splendid occasion. Perhaps the Hamburg Congress

went for something in marring the number of attendants at Hanoi. Naturally, savants who had sat at the great Hanseatic city early in September, and were tired after the labours there, would feel little disposed to start on a long journey early in October to another Congress in a far distant land. The two and a half months entailed in the trip to and fro, the fatigue of such a voyage of from 7,000 to 8,000 miles towards the eastern extremity of the world, and the difficulty of affording so much spare time, had undoubtedly a good deal in deterring many staunch supporters of the Congress from participating in its labours. Many old mainstays of French Oriental studies, like S  nart, Chavannes, Cordier, and others, who had intimated their willingness to come, were ultimately prevented from various causes.

This was most regrettable ; but, on the other hand, the Congress had the satisfaction of seeing an old, though still hale, septuagenarian Oriental scholar, who never yet missed a Congress in his life, joyfully and bravely coming to the gathering from the heart of far Norway, accompanied by his courageous wife, contributing much pleasure and encouragement to those who had assembled.

#### COUNTRIES AND INSTITUTIONS REPRESENTED.

In spite, however, of many drawbacks, the attendance at the Congress was satisfactory, and left but little to be desired. Most European and the leading Oriental countries and societies were represented by delegates ; all, or nearly all, the civilized nations of the world by adherent members. First in order of the majority of both delegates and members naturally came France, with her colonies. The other countries best represented were Austria-Hungary, Netherlands, India, Italy, Japan, and Siam, whose Governments had all sent official delegates. Then came the Universities, Oriental and scientific societies, or museums, of Germany, Austria, Sweden and Norway, Italy, United States of America, India, Japan, Holland, China, Finland,

Ceylon, etc.—all being represented by distinguished envoys.\* The obviously too slight participation taken by Great Britain and India elicited no little comment; the country holding the largest interest in the East was the most poorly represented.

#### THE ARRANGEMENTS.

Before proceeding to give an account of the labours of the Congress, it behoves me to say a word about the hospitality extended to its foreign delegates and members. I may fitly describe it by merely stating that it was thoroughly French in character—namely, such as these courteous people in particular know how to accord. From the Governor-General to the humblest *fonctionnaire*, all seemed to vie in their attentions to the Congressists. The arrangements were perfect. The young but vigorously grown-up *École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, in the person of its amiable director, Mr. Louis Finot, and of his staff of professors and students, on whom fell the brunt of the work of organization and the no less easy task of carrying out the arrangements for the execution of the programme set before them, are entitled to the sincerest gratitude of all Congressists for their painstaking efforts in facilitating the labours of the Congress, and attending to the personal comfort of its members.

\* The following is a list as regards foreign countries: Universities of Rome, Bologna, Christiania, Yale of Newhaven, Tôkyô, Helsingfors; Ethnographical Museums of Berlin and Vienna; Bombay, Ceylon, and North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; Royal Institutes of Florence and The Hague, Asiatic Societies of Italy and Japan, Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, Academy of Sciences of Christiania, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ost-Asiens, Triokoku Tôyô-gakkwai (Orientalist Society of Japan), Geographical Society of Amsterdam, Directorate of the Chinese Imperial Customs, etc.

As regards France and her colonies there were: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres, Comté de l'Asie Française, École des Hautes-Études, Muséum d'Histoire-naturelle, Musées Nationaux, Société d'Anthropologie, Société Asiatique, Société des Études Coloniales et Maritimes, Société Française d'Archéologie, Société de Géographie de Paris, Gouvernement de l'Inde Française, Académie Malgache (Madagascar), Légation de France en Chine, Société des Études Indo-Chinoises, and Chambre d'Agriculture, both of Saigon, etc.

The spacious halls of the Société Philharmonique pavilion—an airy and gay structure, rising by the edge of the Boulevard Francis Garnier on the north-eastern corner of that picturesque little lake which, with its fresh waters, verdant borders, skirted by delightful lawns, and its two cosy islets, embellishes the central part of Hanoi city—were kindly placed at the disposal of the Congress for the sittings of its general and separate sessions, and of the special committees that were, in due course, appointed. Thus the Congressists had the advantage of having the various rooms for their manifold labours brought close together in the same building.

#### PRELIMINARY MEETINGS.

By December 2 last practically all the Congressists had arrived at Hanoi, and an informal meeting took place on the evening of that day at the Grand Hôtel Métropole, when an *Ehrenwein* was offered by the various Municipal authorities and the Committee of Organization of the Congress, and cordial greetings were exchanged.

In the afternoon of next day, December 3, a preliminary sitting was held at the Société Philharmonique, when office-holders were elected and the programme determined.

The work of the Congress was divided into three sections—viz.: (1) India; (2) China and Japan; (3) Indo-China. It was, however, arranged that several general sessions should take place, with joint sections, for the reading and discussion of those papers which interested more than one section or the whole of them. The sittings of the various sections were, as far as possible, timed so as not to take place simultaneously, but at different periods of the day, so as to afford an opportunity to each and all to attend them. This arrangement is a very laudable one, and should be followed in future Congresses of the kind, since the subjects treated in each particular section are often pregnant with interest to others.

As the work before the Congress proved far more

extensive than originally contemplated, when it was thought one week would be amply sufficient to meet all requirements—of which four days were to be actually devoted to sittings and three to excursions—it was found impossible to go through the whole programme within the specified time, and it became necessary to cram in two sittings in one day, of which one from 8.30 to 12 in the forenoon, and the other from 2 to 5.30 in the afternoon, thus practically occupying the whole daytime of the Congressists. Several special committees were elected: (1) To consider the schemes of transliteration of Indo-Chinese languages into Roman characters. (2) To formulate a project for a manual of Indo-Chinese philology, of which Colonel Gerini was appointed chairman. (3) To report upon a Buddhist Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary in course of preparation, etc. Thus the time of those members who were on some of these committees was fully occupied.

#### THE HAMBURG RESOLUTION.

Following the resolutions of the late Statutory Congress at Rome (XII., 1899), and Hamburg (XIII. International Congress of Orientalists, September, 1902), the principle was *in toto* adopted of reading but short passages or extracts of the papers presented, bearing on the most salient points at issue. Next, the pernicious and senseless decision of the Hamburg Congress of having only a brief résumé of each contribution and discussion published in the Acts of the Congress was, I regret to say, obsequiously adhered to in the following terms: "Le Congrès, se conformant à la résolution prise par le Congrès de Hambourg, décide que les communications resteront la propriété de leurs auteurs et que le Congrès ne publiera qu'un compte rendu analytique des débats."

This course is the more regrettable, especially in conjunction with the decision first referred to, as it deprives the members of the Congress of the advantage of having before them the treatment *in extenso* given to each subject by its

own expositor, and affords the absent members but a very hazy idea of the communications made to the Congress and of its proceedings. The prosecution of such a mischievous plan cannot but lead to disappointment on the part of those members especially who could not be present, and grave injury to future Congresses. I therefore entirely agree with Dr. Montet\* in not only deprecating, but most emphatically stigmatizing such baneful methods, and in expressing an earnest hope that so injurious an innovation be nipped in the bud at the next Statutory Congress of 1905 at Algiers.

Of course, we are told by the supporters of this novel departure that the authors of communications can always have their productions published, if they desire it, in some one of the special periodicals. I wonder, however, how they do not perceive the point that those absent members in particular who have paid their subscription to the Congress—for the primary, essential reason of getting its Acts in full—are legitimately entitled to have these before them, so as to participate, as it were, in spirit in the sittings; and it is not at all fair that they should be put to the extra expense and trouble of ferreting out each single contribution in a host of magazines as soon as it appears, and of purchasing every issue of the same that contains the paper in question. And, furthermore, who is prepared to guarantee them that they then get precisely what was laid before the Congress? May not the author have in the meantime amended mistakes pointed out to him, introduced new matter, or added novel ideas that occurred or were suggested to him by further reading or by researches made after the close of the Congress? So that what the expectant member of the Congress finds in such periodicals can scarcely be any more a genuine and faithful copy of the communication originally presented to the Congress.

It will thus readily be perceived that the justification of

\* *Vide* his report of the Hamburg Congress in the January issue of this *Review*, pp. 104, 105.

the novel method brought forward on the specious plea that "the publication *in extenso* of all the communications presented to the Congress can follow only so late afterwards that the contents of many contributions are overtaken by the advance of science before they can appear"\* is utterly absurd. Nor is this all, for such a practice leads to the creation of a greater evil—namely, that what the members of the Congress get afterwards—if ever—disseminated in the *gurgite vasto* of the periodical press is most likely but a rifacimento of the contribution actually laid before the Congress, and thus these papers do no more prove true likenesses of their originals, nor represent—mark the point—the state of science at the time the Congress was held, and merely form spurious milestones to indicate the fictitious march of its progress. In a word, encouragement is thereby lent to the travestying and destroying of the history of scientific research, to the detriment of the very object and purpose for which these Congresses have been instituted. For it can scarcely be expected that a résumé not exceeding in length "two printed pages of the form and size of the previous reports," which is all the Hamburg Congress has been magnanimously disposed to concede its members in the shape of published Acts in exchange for their subscription, can include all the important details of each single communication—and the seemingly most insignificant detail may be of considerable import in many such cases. It is not only the backbone, but also the tiny little bones, that constitute a frame. The Hamburg Congress, niggard in regaling its members with even a mummified account, leaves them only a few dry bones. And what bones! Not a skeleton, but some *dissecta vertebra*, with perhaps a tibia or a femur thrown in here and there.

But what shall I say of adopting such a nonsensical course in the Hanoi Congress, after it had already been decided that authors of contributions should read but a résumé, or else only passages or extracts bearing on the

\* Resolution adopted at the Hamburg Congress.

most salient points of the papers presented? Why, then, cajole those authors into preparing communications *in extenso* at all, and thus engage in the Sisyphean task of supplying matter for the waste-paper basket, since nothing but an abstract will be published in the Acts? Thus, while the members who had not the chance of being present will be in no better position than their ill-fated *confrères* of the Hamburg Congress, those who attended the gathering will find themselves in a far worse plight. At all events, neither the one nor the other will ever know exactly all that the original contributions contained. That will be a perpetual mystery, which even an Argus-eyed look-out for all the "special periodicals" will never enable one to fathom.

It is, I should think, high time to put a check upon these glaringly emasculate methods, and I therefore conclude this not inopportune digression, once more expressing the hope that the absurdity of such a practice will be recognised on all sides, and the distressed ship of Oriental Congressism be brought back and steered on the right and original track.

#### OPENING SESSION OF THE CONGRESS.

The Congress was formally opened on the morning of December 4 at 10 a.m., under the presidency of the Governor-General, Monsieur Beau, at the Société Philharmonique, accompanied by his staff and by the principal authorities of the place. The ceremony proved both solemn and impressive. Monsieur Beau inaugurated the proceedings by an elevated and much-admired speech, which wound up as follows :

"Aussi les études que vous poursuivez, et dont vous venez ici nous faire connaître les résultats en les soumettant à l'épreuve d'une discussion amicale et éclairée, ne sont-elles pas seulement d'ordre théorique et destinées à satisfaire votre curiosité scientifique. De vos recherches sur le passé de la grande péninsule Indo-Chinoise, sortent les plus utiles renseignements que nous puissions recueillir pour le Gouvernement des peuples si divers qui l'habitent.

“En utilisant la source précieuse de documentation que vous nous apportez, nous nous préserverons de bien des erreurs et nous apprendrons à faire meilleur usage des ressources de toute nature que ce pays nous offre. De plus, en pénétrant, par l'histoire du passé, jusqu'au fond encore si fermé de la pensée des races indigènes, il est permis d'espérer que nous arriverons à les comprendre, à nous faire comprendre et même aimer d'elles ; et ainsi nous parviendrons peu à peu à réaliser la mission que la France s'est imposée en prenant charge du gouvernement de ces peuples, qu'elle doit, par les voies supérieures de la science, de la justice et de la civilisation, faire évoluer vers un avenir meilleur.

“Je déclare ouverte la session du Congrès des Orientalistes de 1902.”

This discourse was followed by a capital one from Monsieur Finot, the Director of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, in his capacity of Chairman of the Committee of Organization of the Congress. In the course of his remarks he said :

“S'il est, Messieurs, une partie du monde dont l'étude réclame cette association de forces, c'est assurément l'Extrême-Orient.

“D'une part, en effet, la connexité des faits qui composent la trame de son histoire, interdit le morcellement des recherches ; d'autre part l'infinie diversité des races et des langues oppose à une étude intégrale des obstacles presque insurmontables. Mais cette antinomie apparente s'évanouit, si un échange régulier de communications s'établit entre tous les travailleurs de ce vaste domaine, si l'information bornée de chacun de nous peut se compléter par les connaissances spéciales d'un confrère mieux renseigné.

“C'est pour préparer les voies à cette organisation plus rationnelle du travail scientifique qu'un groupe d'Orientalistes français a pris l'initiative de cette conférence. Il leur a semblé, qu'un ensemble de conditions favorables désignait l'Indo-Chine comme un centre propice de réunion.

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"Qu'il me soit permis aussi de mentionner, au nombre des circonstances qui recommandaient l'Indo-Chine comme siège du Congrès, l'existence d'une institution vouée déjà à un tâche analogue. Lorsqu'il créa l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, M. Doumer — dont le nom doit être rappelé ici avec gratitude — ne voulut pas en faire une sorte d'institut d'histoire locale ; il lui assigna comme champ de travail l'Extrême-Orient dans son ensemble. C'est conformément à ces intentions maintes fois rappelées que les membres de l'École ont successivement visité Java, la Chine, le Siam, l'Inde, le Japon, nouant ainsi les premiers liens de cette fédération scientifique de l'Asie Orientale, qui deviendra, si elle se réalise, un incomparable agent de progrès.

"Certes, Messieurs, l'École à qui fut commis le soin de vous recevoir, était encore bien jeune pour un tel honneur ; elle avait à peine trois ans d'existence. Néanmoins, vous n'avez pas hésité à venir à elle, à l'exemple des bonnes fées qui aiment à se grouper autour des berceaux.

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"Vous êtes, Messieurs, en présence d'un champ de travail immense et en grande partie inculte : en y appliquant vos communs efforts, vous justifierez les sympathies qui vous entourent et qui saluent dans votre réunion l'espoir des moissons futures."

No less appropriate discourses were then delivered in succession by the delegates of the various governments and foreign scientific institutions represented at the Congress. All these invariably sounded pæans of congratulation to French Indo-China for the brilliant manifestation of its intellectual and economic activity in the Congress, and the exhibition of such generous hospitality to its guests.

With this closed a ceremony which favourably impressed all present, and very seemingly proved, in the words of Directeur Finot, the initial step in "tying the first bonds of that scientific federation of Eastern Asia" which, let us hope, has by that Congress become a concrete fact, or, at any rate, well approached towards its realization.

#### WORK OF THE CONGRESS.

With the sitting that followed in the afternoon of the same day (December 4) the regular labours of the Congress began, which extended over the following six days, an intervening Sunday and the last two days being occupied in excursions to sites of historical and ethnographical interest. Thus the Congress lasted from December 4 to 10, and nine were the sittings devoted to actual work. Of the excursions due mention will be made anon; I shall first commence by giving a short account of the labours of the various sections and committees. Dearth of space prevents me from entering into details; hence I shall merely confine myself to a summary of the proceedings, and to a notice of the principal papers read, classing the latter under the sections in which they were presented and discussed.

#### JOINT SECTIONS.

Professor Nocentini first occupied the attention of the Congressists with the account of an interesting discovery he had made of an account of Tonkin by Father Baldinotti in 1626, of which he presented the Italian text with a translation. Dr. Brandes, the well-known specialist in Japanese archæology and literature, gave a very impressive lecture on the architectural peculiarities of the monuments of Java and their symbolism. Takakusu read a study on Is'vara-Kṛṣṇa's *Samkya-Kārikā* and a *Bhāṣya* by Gaudapāda, compared with the Chinese text, and a commentary by an unknown author, translated by Paramārtha (A.D. 499-569), a Brāhman of Ujjayinī, West India. Dr. Florenz, the brilliant Japanologist, gave a highly interesting account and remarks on the archaic poetry of Japan. Hubert discoursed on the prehistoric antiquities of Indo-China, and the results so far attained by discovery in that field.

Extracts were read from a paper sent in by Professor Chavannes on the two most ancient specimens of the old cartography of China, dating from A.D. 1137, found by him

among the casts of the stelæ from Hsi-an Fu. Professor Pullé followed with an exegesis upon the ancient cartography of India, of which country he presented a very fine collection of over one hundred medieval maps he had had reproduced.

A new scheme for the transcription of Thai languages, elaborated by Mr. Maspero, was laid before the Congress, and was handed over for examination to the special committee charged with transliteration matters. The Marquis de Fontainieu gave an interesting account of some *Purānas* he had come across in Southern India. The principal passages were then read out from a very scholarly paper forwarded by Professor Sylvain Lévi on the date of Candragomin, which he concludes by placing in the seventh century A.D. Next followed a fascinating exposition by Dr. Baelz, the eminent anthropologist, on the somatological characteristics of the races of the Far East, illustrated by numerous photographs of Chinese, Manchu, Japanese, and Ainu types he had made in the course of his long years of research. The apparent dissimilarities brought about in the features of the face by coiffure were forcibly exemplified by photos taken of types in different head-dresses. Striking was the surprisingly close resemblance exhibited by the photo of an Ainu with the likeness of Tolstoi. Professor Pelliot, the rising sinologist, then presented several rare MSS., Chinese, Tibetan, and Thai, which had been lately purchased or received in donation by the *École Française*; and next he gave an account of the reform of literary examinations in China which was introduced in 1902.

Bunjo Nanjio read various pregnant remarks on the three Chinese versions of the *Saddharmapundarikā-sūtra*. Père Cadière, a zealous investigator of Annamese archæology, gave a scholarly account of the historical sites he had visited in the Kwāng-biñ district. Captain Cottés read an interesting study on the Thai populations of North-West Tonkin. Papers sent in by two Annamese literati

were then read, describing commemorative inscriptions collected by them in various places.

#### SECTION I.—INDIA.

Mr. Macmillan presented a Marathi folk-song, of which he read a translation, followed by interesting remarks on its metric peculiarities. Director Finot noticed and commented on an inscription, as yet inedited, discovered on the left bank of the Mē-Khōng below Wieng-Chan, it being an edict relative to the foundation of a hospital by Jayavarman VII., a King of Kamboja in the second half of the twelfth century A.D. A paper sent in by Mr. Vogel on a statue from Gandhāra preserved in the Lahore Museum was then read. Next came remarks by Professors Lieblein and Pullé on the historical connections between the terms *Pani* and *Puni*. Dr. P. Cordier, an intelligent as well as assiduous investigator of native medical literature in India, gave an elaborate account of various medical MSS. in the Sanskrit language discovered by him between 1898 and 1902. Next followed the reading of a clever paper forwarded by Mr. Shams-ul-Ulema Jivanji Jamshedji Modi on the references to China occurring in the old books of the Parsīs (*Avesta*, *Shāh-nāmeḥ Farvardin Yasht*, etc.).

#### SECTION II.—CHINA AND JAPAN.

The contributions from Japanese Orientalists were both numerous and valuable: "The idea of Sovereignty in Japanese History," by Ariga; the translation into German of the Japanese play *Tsubosakadera*, by Okamoto; "Kanshin's Voyage to Japan (A.D. 742-754)," by Takakusu; "Brief History of the Shin Sect," by Fujishima. No less interesting were papers by European specialists in Japanology, especially one by Dr. Florenz on Ibara Saikaku, a Japanese naturalistic novelist of the seventeenth century; and another by M. Maitre, of the École Française, summing up his researches on the historical literature of Japan from

its origin down to the founding of the Shôgunate of Kamakura (A.D. 1192).

### SECTION III.—INDO-CHINA.

Several communications of a more wide-reaching character on subjects relative to Indo-China had been presented at the sittings of the joint sections. For this one were reserved some studies of a more local and special interest. Among these I may mention the following: a very scholarly dissertation by Councillor Heger, of the Vienna Ethnographical Museum, on "Some Ancient Bronze Drums of South-Eastern Asia," which elicited comments, and useful remarks by many present; an account by Architect Parmentier, an indefatigable explorer of Châm monuments and antiquities, on the new archæological discoveries he had made in Annam, among which was that of the treasury of the Châm kings in the Phanrī and Phanrang districts; a delightful as well as interesting paper on the popular poetry of the Măn tribes North of Tonkin, by Captain Bonifacy; rubbings of inscriptions from the grottoes of Phong-nhã in Kwāng-biñ, presented by Mr. Paris; and, finally, a fairly well-got-up study by an erudite native, Mr. Son-Diép, on the legends current about the region of Bāsak (Sok-trang), in Lower Cochin-China.

### CLOSING SESSION.

This was held in the afternoon of December 8, to receive and consider the reports and propositions of the various committees, to formulate resolutions, and to bring the labours of the Congress to a close.

The decisions ultimately adopted were the following:

1. Resolved that the Congress be known by the name of "The First International Congress of Far-Eastern Studies" (Premier Congrès International des Études d'Extrême-Orient).\*

\* The textual resolution is of the following tenor: "The Congress, considering that the name 'International Congress of Orientalists' lends colour to a confusion with the triennial series of European Congresses—

2. The Congress expresses the wish that the learned societies of the Far East may use every endeavour to encourage by all means in their power the collaboration of natives to their studies.

3. The Congress expresses the wish that the École Française d'Extrême-Orient may extend its activity to the exploration of prehistorical stations, and that the results of the excavations undertaken be incorporated with the remainder of the archæological collections in the Museum of the École.

4. The Congress expresses the wish that Professor Pullé may consent to undertake the compilation of a work on the ancient cartography of Indo-China.\*

5. The Congress recommends for scientific purposes the adoption of a more rational transliteration of Annamese on the basis proposed by the special committee.

6. The Congress, while approving in principle the scheme of transliteration of Thai languages presented by Mr. Maspero, expresses the wish that a system of transcription of this group of languages, answering all scientific purposes, be early fixed upon by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

7. With regard to the report submitted by a special committee on the Sanskrit-Chinese Buddhist dictionary prepared by Messrs. Nanjio, Takakusu, and Tokiwai,

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considering, on the other hand, that the object of the Congress at Hanoi, as defined by its Committee of Organization, was exclusively the study of the history, philology and ethnography of India and Far-Eastern countries, in order to avoid all ambiguity, and to select a name better answering to its object and to the nature of its labours—decides that, in all its future publications, this Congress shall bear the name of 'The First International Congress of Far-Eastern Studies.'

\* Already at the Paris Congress of 1897, in connection with a paper by Professor Pullé on an ancient map of India, the wish had been expressed "that the Congress should request the geographical societies of different countries and the India Office to undertake the chronological classification and the publication of maps which at different periods have been made on Oriental countries." Nothing has, apparently, come of this, which is a pity. The question should, in my opinion, be revived at the next Congress, and due stress laid on the importance of the work contemplated being at once taken in hand.

with the collaboration and assistance of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, the Congress notifies its desire : (1) that European Orientalists may address to the authors of that dictionary all suggestions which might assist them in their researches ; (2) that the Japanese Government may see its way to encourage by every means a work which is, like this, destined to honour Japanese scholarship.

8. The Congress expresses the hope that the *Manual of Indo-Chinese Philology* in preparation, the object and plan of which have been drawn up and submitted by a special committee, may be taken in hand and published as soon as practicable,

9. Anent the suggestion put forward by Mr. Vkkhal, in the name of the *Sanskrit-pustakonnati-sabhā* of Delhi, that the systematic publication of Sanskrit texts be undertaken, the Congress expresses the hope that this question may be submitted to the Fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists, which is to assemble at Algiers in the spring of 1905.

#### SURVEY OF THE RESULTS OF THE CONGRESS.

From the above account it will readily be seen that the Congress was highly successful in the task it had undertaken. But the excellence of its results may best be gauged when some of the salient features connected with them are put in bolder relief.

The active participation taken by natives in its labours is a very refreshing experience, and a sign that augurs well for the intellectual future of the Annamese race. From the Chinese they were inoculated with that bent for literary pursuit which forms a characteristic of official as well as private life in the Celestial Empire, but which is, at the same time, but a stereotyped, fossilized idiosyncrasy that seldom aspires to push on beyond the traditional field of classic lore. The encouragement given towards diverting this latent faculty into the more up-to-date channels of modern scientific research is a felicitous innovation, and

one that has already yielded good results. The Congress did, therefore, extremely well in expressing a vote that such wholesome tendency on the part of the natives be further encouraged. In Japan, and also in India, there is, of course, no need of this, as the natives there have already reached that stage of educational evolution, but in China, and among the nations of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the Archipelago, the process still requires stimulating to a large extent; and if the course pointed out by the Congress is followed by the learned societies established there, we may confidently look for a better future for Oriental studies in those quarters.

Another point on which it is worth while laying stress, and the importance of which can never be too much overrated, is the successful issue of the labours of the Transcription Committee of the Congress as regards the transliteration of Annamese. This was the first triumphal attack on the method that has been in vogue for over two centuries, the famed *Kwok-ngü*, which ever stood as an impregnable propugnacle. It is needless to dilate here upon the absurdity, endless anomalies, and general inconvenience of this hybrid system of transliteration, which was planted in Annam by the early Portuguese missionaries, survived all vicissitudes, and rose to the standing of an established institution in French Indo-China, owing especially to the fact that laic education has been up to the present mostly monopolized by the missionaries. Its shortcomings have been repeatedly pointed out by many of the French scholars and functionaries themselves, and reforms proposed, but always in vain, as these clashed with the views held by the missionary body, and would render obsolete all their literature printed in that romanized form. Ensnared on this rock they would not give in an inch, and thus to oust them therefrom appeared a hopeless task. It required a powerful, scholarly organization like the present Congress to perform the miracle. Opposition there was, as may well be imagined, especially from the

missionary element. The defects of the system in force were clearly pointed out; the *pros* and *cons* as regards the proposed reform thoroughly threshed out, and the battle strenuously fought, ending in a victory for modern philology. The Committee was thus able to present the conclusion it had arrived at by a large majority, that the Government of French Indo-China should be advised to adopt the new transliteration scheme, and make it official and compulsory throughout the country. But as so sudden a subversion of the existing order of things appalled some of the members of the Congress at the closing general session, and strong objections being raised—though not at all well-founded—it was ultimately agreed to leave the spread of the new system to peaceful evolution. The sound germ had been planted, and from it a vigorous plant will take root and grow in due course. It is merely a question of time; and as conditions appear favourable and the unquestionable advantages of the new rational system are already recognised, it will become more and more patent to the rising generation, and its success seems assured. The Government would ultimately have to decree its adoption, and make it compulsory in all the educational and scientific institutions under its dependence. This there is reason to hope will soon occur. In view of the circumstances the Congress decided to amend the resolution presented by the Transcription Committee, and limit itself to platonically recommending the adoption of the new system of transliteration for scientific purposes. The loud protest raised against the proposed reform by Père Cadière, who acted on this occasion as the mouthpiece of the missionary body, looked almost like a capitulation—the last flashing outburst of the flickering light that is about to go out. Forced to recognise the superiority of the new transcription over the old one, he would admit it only from a scientific point of view, but strongly condemned its introduction from a practical standpoint, on account of the great revolution it would cause in Annamese lexicography and other more or

less imaginary cataclysms. This, the "practical point of view," was the opposition's last resort; and in view of the extensive ground already conquered, it was decided to leave it to them, with the conviction that they will have soon to evacuate their former ground. Thus the Congress smilingly adopted the amended resolution (No. 5), satisfied at the same time that a great victory had been gained, which will long remain memorable in the annals of philology.

While on this subject I cannot well afford to pass in silence an important detail which happens to be within my ken, from the fact of having been myself on the Committee of Transcription above referred to; though a detail, it affords a luminous practical illustration as to the advantages of holding Oriental Congresses in the East. In order to acquire a clear idea of the sounds of certain words in the Annamese language, and of the phonetic changes that these undergo in different parts of French Indo-China, where that tongue is spoken, several *litterati* from various districts of the colony—*i.e.*, from Tonkin, Annam, and Lower Cochin-China—were summoned to attend the sittings of the Committee and there placed at the disposal of its members for the purpose of reference. Thus, whenever an uncertainty arose as regards the proper employment of a letter, or combination of letters, of the European alphabet to represent a certain Annamese sound, the native experts were resorted to for enlightenment as regards the nature of that sound and other useful information. In most cases they were asked to pronounce words in which the sound under discussion occurred, after the manner in vogue in the various parts of the country, and thus a definite solution was ultimately arrived at of questions which would have puzzled philologists elsewhere for a long time.

The foregoing incident explains how, mainly, no doubt, from the lack of similar facilities, no such satisfactory settlement could as yet be reached on the long-pending question of the transliteration of Chinese laid before Oriental

Congresses in Europe. This occupied their attention for years, from Paris (1897),\* where it first came on the tapis, to Hamburg (1902), where it still remained there. I am of opinion that if a special Oriental Congress, somewhat on the lines of that of Hanoi, could be assembled somewhere in China, say at Peking or Shanghai, a definite understanding could be arrived at more speedily.

I deem it unnecessary to expatiate upon the other signal results of the Hanoi Congress. Among the resolutions voted, those concerning the publication of the Sanskrit-Chinese Buddhist Dictionary, and of a *Manual of Indo-Chinese Philology*, the further exploration of pre-historic stations, etc., are of so patent an import as to speak for themselves, and to appeal to Oriental scholars and the public in general as unquestionable evidence that an amount of highly useful work has been done, and a very brilliant success achieved. The laborious victory gained over the *Kwok-ngii* spelling would be quite sufficient by itself, in default of other no less conspicuous triumphs, to mark the special success of this Congress, as it, in my opinion, has taken a new step in the march of Indo-Chinese philology in particular and of Oriental research in general.

#### THE EXCURSIONS.

It is only fitting that I should now devote a few words to the excursions after the official programme had been finished :

1. That of Sunday, December 7, included visits to the Taoist pagoda of Lim, to the commemorative temple of the Lī Kings† at Diñ-bāng, and to P'hu-tu Sön village, all these being sites lying about ten miles to the north-east of

\* The resolution was then first adopted "that a unique system for the transcription of the Chinese language be elaborated," and an International Commission nominated to formulate a scheme.

† A national dynasty that reigned over Annam from A.D. 1010-1225. The temple contains the commemorative tablet of each King, with plastic representations of the ministers, servants, horses, and the paraphernalia of each individual ruler.

Hanoi, and approached in part by the railway line running in that direction on to the China frontier.

2. The second excursion, far more extensive and interesting from more than one point of view, formed a fitting conclusion to the sedentary labours of the Congress. It occupied the whole of the two days, December 9 and 10. On the first of these the Congressists were conveyed over the whole length of the Lang-sön railway (169 kilometres) to the frontier of China at the Nam-kwan gate, through which access is gained to Chinese territory. The railway stops abruptly at a rocky barrier of jagged cliffs, surmounted by a fort which guards the approaches to the pachydermatous Empire. By climbing up the steep ascent to the fort and entering through its unprepossessing gate—a new construction raised in the place of the old one which had been blown up by the French troops under General de Négrier on February 24, 1885—the Congressists had the satisfaction of placing their feet on Chinese territory. Those among them who rejoiced in the qualification of sinologists were thereupon enabled to have a chat in the language of Cathay with the Chinese mandarin in command of the fort, who extended to all a cordial welcome and freely dispensed shake-hands and autographs to the company.

The evening of that day (December 9) saw the Congressists comfortably housed at Lang-sön, the picturesque *chef-lieu* of those pleasant Tonkinese highlands, blessed with an almost Alpine climate and scenery. A sumptuous dinner was given them by the commandant and officers of the local garrison at the Cercle Militaire, at which the lady Congressists were presented with bouquets of locally-grown violets, flowers that one scarcely expects to meet with in the tropics, but which bloom to perfection in that mountainous region.

The best part of the morning of the next day, December 10, was spent by the Congressists in a short visit to the limestone grottoes of Kī-lwā, situated at about one mile from

the city; and in a stroll through the native part of the town, in which the Annamese form but a small portion of the population, the rest being composed of black Thô (a branch of the Thai race) and of the so-called *Miangs*, who are in reality but a survival of the primitive Annamese type, speaking an archaic Annamese dialect. During the afternoon the Congressists were conveyed back to Hanoi, halting several times on the way to pay short visits to Thô and Mân villages, and to other points of either ethnographical or historical interest.

3. On the days following, those among the Congressists who were in a hurry to get back home left; but a good many, perhaps over one-half of them, stayed for another week or longer, in order either to more fully visit the exhibition and study some of the almost unique ethnographical rarities displayed therein, or to see other interesting sights in the city and neighbourhood. For these remaining members of the Congress a further excursion, entirely extra-programme, was arranged for Sunday, December 14. This consisted in a visit to the, as yet, very little-known ruins of Kô-lwā, a famed ancient city which was the capital of an independent Annamese kingdom from 255 to 208 B.C. The portion of the now wellnigh completed railway to Vie-tri, detaching itself from the Lang-sön line a little beyond the Canal des Rapides, was taken advantage of to convey the Congressists by special train up to the immediate neighbourhood of the historical ruins. Thence the company walked past the two outer lines of earthen ramparts, still remaining to attest the location of the old capital, and penetrated, through several villages that have since grown on its grounds, to the very heart of the ancient citadel where stood the palace of its ruler and founder, King Yen-Züang, now represented by a few remains and by a modern shrine raised by the Annamese to contain the funeral tablet of their first historical sovereign. Near by the Congressists saw the funeral temple elevated on the grave of the unfortunate Mî-Chöu, the King's daughter, who

perished by her father's hand in the tragedy subsequent upon the downfall of the kingdom; and they alike had occasion to inspect the pond where her bridegroom, Prince Trong-Thúi, drowned himself in despair upon being apprised of her direful death. In the evening the Congressists returned to Hanoi by the same route they had followed in the morning. From an archæological point of view this was, by far, the most interesting excursion.

After that the remaining Congressists dispersed: some in search of further sights and impressions in Tonkin; others on a visit to the historical sites in and about Hwē, the late capital of Annam, and to the important remains of Châm grandeur still extant in its neighbourhood; and others, finally, on more extended tours to Kamboja and to the incomparable ruins of Angkor-Wat and Angkor-Thom, unique in the East and perhaps in the world. May one of the future Congresses held in Indo-China reveal these better to those who have not, as yet, had the good fortune of seeing and appreciating them.

#### CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

Thus terminated a Congress which, excepting the shortcomings I have criticised, and which, by the way, were in part the reflex of the vagaries of preceding Congresses, to whom belongs the Herostratean fame of having set the bad precedent, may be said to have been a brilliant and memorable success. It is now to be hoped that other nations who are in the East fast striding on the paths of civilization, or have therein conspicuous interests and extensive colonies, will follow suit, so that we may, within the next few years, have similar gatherings in other Far Eastern countries, and such special Congresses may become, as they so well deserve, an established institution—a succession of glowing manifestations of Oriental research and lore that will run on unbroken for ages.

What nation will now come forward and hold the next Congress? Is it to be British India, Netherlands India,

Japan, China, or Siam? It would be as yet premature to venture on a forecast, but the question will probably be definitely settled before long. If, however, it be allowable to indulge in a little speculative consideration, it would appear that the nation, upon whom more than any other the duty is now incumbent of taking up the serial continuation of these special Congresses, so successfully initiated by France at Hanoi, is Great Britain, the other great colonizing and civilizing power in the Far East. So let us hope that the next Congress of the series may be held in India.\* No better meeting-place could be devised, especially in view of the multifarious connections, religious, political, and otherwise, that have for many centuries past bound that marvellous land with most countries of the Far East, which look up to it as the *alma mater*, the fountain-head of their early civilization — connections that, formerly almost ignored, are being put in greater evidence by modern Oriental research as years roll on, and from the more thorough study of which cannot but derive enhanced advantage to history and ethnographical science.

*Bangkok*, April 12, 1903.

#### POSTSCRIPTUM.

The foregoing account of the Hanoi Congress had just been penned when there appeared the *Compte Rendu Analytique* of its sittings,"† published in a neat 4to. volume of some 140 pages. The Committee of Organization of that Congress are to be sincerely congratulated on the expeditiousness with which they have acquitted themselves of the onerous task imposed upon them. May the committees of publication of the Acts of future Congresses follow their example.

\* An esteemed correspondent suggests Ceylon.—ED.

† "Premier Congrès International des Études d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi (1902), *Compte Rendu Analytique des Séances*." Hanoi: F. H. Schneider, 1903. The volume gives an abstract of all the communications presented to the Congress, and an analytical account of the debates exceedingly well got up.

## REFORMED CHINA AND HER DESTINY.

BY TAW SEIN KO, M.R.A.S.

"An unexampled past lies behind this great race, and before it there may lie a wonderful future. Ere that can be realized, however, there are many disabilities which must be removed. The longer one is acquainted with China, the more deeply is this necessity felt. Commerce, diplomacy, extension of political relations, and the growing contact with Occidental civilization, have, all combined, proved totally inadequate to accomplish any such reformation as China needs."—ARTHUR H. SMITH, Author of *Chinese Characteristics*.

THE workings of the Oriental mind are somewhat inexplicable. When two persons quarrel in the West, attempts are made by the one to do direct harm to the other. In the Far East, an innocent third party is often brought in to be made the cat's paw for doing harm to either of the rival parties. On such principle can only be explained the outrages committed on foreigners in Japan in the early sixties of the nineteenth century, when there was an acute struggle for supremacy between the Shogun and the Emperor, as also the "midsummer madness" of Peking in the spring of 1900. Since September, 1898, the relations between the Emperor Kuang Hsu and the Empress Dowager had become strained. The Emperor was the avowed leader of the Reform party, who too sanguinely expected that the vast empire could be reformed in a few years' time through the instrumentality of Imperial edicts alone. The Empress Dowager was the rallying-point of the Conservatives, who foresaw danger in too rapid an innovation, and who did not appreciate the wisdom of the policy of dismissing aged and influential Ministers from their sinecure appointments. There was a third party, who may be called the pro-Chinese party, and who became alarmed at the sudden action of the Central Government—said to have been adopted at the suggestion of a certain foreign Power—of substituting Manchus for Chinese in

Vice-regal and other important appointments. Just about this time, when there was pronounced dissension at the headquarters of the supreme Government, official status was conferred on Roman Catholic missionaries, and the peasantry became alarmed lest their rights and privileges should be threatened by the Christian converts, who could always count on the sympathy and co-operation of their missionaries. There was also an economic factor. Rains had held off in the Chihli province, and thousands of men, women and children, who had been thrown out of employment by the construction of the Tientsin-Peking and Tientsin-Paotingfu railways, were suffering from acute distress. The credulity of a hunger-stricken population may be traded upon; they were easily persuaded to believe in the efficacy of charms of invulnerability, and their wrath was diverted against the foreigners, irrespective of sect or nationality, who had introduced the railway which had robbed them of their means of livelihood. Suddenly the cry of "Hu Ch'ing mieh Yang!" ("Protect the Manchu Dynasty and exterminate the foreigners!") was raised, and Boxerism lifted its ugly head at Tientsin and Peking.

Boxerism has rendered indirect service to China: it has convinced the world that patriotism is not yet dead in the breasts of Chinamen; that Chinamen, whether converted to Christianity or not, are not afraid to die for their faith or country, and that the proverbial common-sense and honesty of the Chinese race are still in their full vigour. What the Spanish Armada was to Elizabethan England Boxerism has been to China. The unification of the 400 millions of people has been effected by the community of danger and interest, and the whole nation stood up as one man to prevent the dismemberment of the ancient empire. In the gloom of the crisis which China recently passed through one incident deserves to be recorded. In slaughtering about 200 missionaries, sometimes scattered in groups of two or three, no dishonour was done to feminine modesty. A race which has a chivalrous respect

for woman, and which esteems female chastity even above life itself, deserves a high place in the comity of nations. The teachings of Confucius and Mencius have, indeed, been of some value both to the Chinese and Japanese in their dealings with fellow-beings during the Boxer rising.

The shedding of human blood appears to have been a prelude to most of the great changes in history. The blood of martyrs has ever been the seed of the Christian Church. In the seventeenth century Christians were persecuted in Japan with a cruelty and brutality which has never been surpassed. Mr. Gubbins says\*: "We read of Christians being executed in a barbarous manner in sight of each other, of their being hurled from the tops of precipices, of their being buried alive, of their being torn asunder by oxen, of their being tied up in rice-bags which were heaped up together, and of the pile thus formed being set on fire. Others were tortured before death by the insertion of sharp spikes under the nails of their hands and feet, while some poor wretches by a refinement of horrid cruelty were shut up in cages, and there left to starve with food before their eyes. Let it not be supposed that we have drawn on the Jesuit accounts solely for this information. An examination of the Japanese records will show that the case is not overstated." But what a bright picture does Japan present to-day! She yields to none in her toleration of Christianity, in her friendliness to foreigners sojourning within her borders, and in her appreciation of Western laws and institutions. In bringing about this happy consummation the Island Empire is under a lasting obligation to Marquis Ito, Marquis Yamagata, and Count Inouye, headed by the Mikado, and among the Foreign Ministers, to Sir Harry Parkes, who was ably assisted by Mr. (now Sir Ernest) Satow, who is now the British Minister at Peking.

Judging by history, it is reasonable to expect that similar important changes will be effected in China also.

\* Murray's "Japan," p. 249.

The Chinese mind is slow to move, but when it does move, it proceeds with a singleness and tenacity of purpose, and an acceleration of energy and thoroughness, which cannot be equalled elsewhere. Hitherto Chinamen have been loath to part with, or modify, their laws and institutions, which are of indigenous growth, and which are encrusted with the prescriptive sanction of many centuries ; whereas their neighbours, the Japanese, who have borrowed their letters, religion, and civilization from China, felt no compunction in substituting one set of borrowings for another from the West. A yak on the Thibetan Plateau cannot cast off its valuable fur, which is part and parcel of its body, with the facility of a man changing his coat.

What is now required at Peking is the drawing up of a constitution detailing the various departments of the Government and the duties of the officers in each. The Six Boards should be remodelled ; special attention should be given to the working of the Boards of War and Revenue, and two new Boards—viz., those of Reforms and Legislation—should be added. Moltke has declared that to be prepared for war is the best guarantee for peace. An efficient army and navy are the essential paraphernalia of a modern government which aspires to be strong, and which desires its fiat to be respected by other nations. It must be remembered, too, that in all disputes, whether domestic or foreign, the ultimate tribunal is the arbitrament of the sword. Long harangues or disquisitions on “ Taoli,” or the “ necessities of Pure Reason,” are perfectly useless, unless they are backed up by a show of physical force. To supply the sinews of war a large revenue is necessary, and patriotic Chinamen must be prepared to pay for the maintenance of their national prestige ; and new sources of revenue should be found out and worked. For the consideration and adoption of useful reforms the creation of an additional Board is necessary. Haphazard measures, assented to in haste, may prove to be inexpedient and cause unrest and disaffection. A legislative Board is also essential. The tortures still resorted to in a Chinese Yamen for eliciting

evidence or confession, and the pain and misery undergone by Chinese prisoners, do not become a nation which claims to be civilized. Methods of judicial procedure call loudly for immediate reform. Besides, the extension and development of commerce with Western countries necessitates the adoption of some of the usages and principles of Western commercial law.

The recent cataclysm seems to have reconciled the discordant elements at the Chinese capital, and there are unmistakable signs that both the Emperor and Empress Dowager are in earnest that the Chinese and Manchu races should be blended, and that far-reaching and salutary reforms should be inaugurated for the welfare and prosperity of the Chinese Empire. These two great rulers are complementary to each other: the Emperor represents youth, zeal, courage, and hopefulness, which should, by all means, be tempered by the caution, experience, wisdom, and knowledge of human nature of the venerable Empress Dowager. Many strange stories are current about the latter, but they may be summarily dismissed as untruth or palpable distortions of fact. In her faculty of organization, her great force of character, her admirable selection of Ministers of State, and her imperious will, she may be likened to Queen Elizabeth of England, with whose reign began the career of English greatness, rather than to Queen Catherine of Russia, with whom she has often been compared by journalistic writers.

It may now be fairly assumed that the progress of China on Western lines has been ensured, and that, actively aided by England, Japan, and the United States, she will once more take her place in the family of nations. Reformed China will not incline towards militarism or disturb the peace of the world. She will, no doubt, be prepared to defend her integrity and independence, and her energies will, for the next few centuries, be confined to the development of her own gigantic resources, and her untold agricultural and mineral wealth. China is the coming country of the future: proud of her great historic traditions, her still greater

achievements are in the womb of Time. The construction of the Isthmian Canal, whether at Nicaragua or Panama, will shift the centre of gravity of the world's commerce from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and the trade of China and Japan will be greatly stimulated. As the construction of the Suez Canal resuscitated the dormant countries washed by the Mediterranean Sea and revived Italy and Greece in a marked degree, it is more than probable that a great vitality will be imparted to Chinese and Japanese commerce by the building of the projected waterway between the two Americas. Commerce is the life-blood of nations, and is the best antidote for militarism; and with the extended development of commerce in both hemispheres, the abolition of war, which is one of the dreams of the Russian Tsar, may be realized.

To make a nation great the services of great men are required. Yuan Shih Kai now fills most worthily and successfully the place of the great and lamented Li Hung Chang, and the loyalty and patriotism of Chang Chih Tung and Liu Kun Yi, the Viceroy of the Yangtze Valley, are undoubted. Since the days of Yao and Shun China's sons have never failed to respond to her call in the hour of need, and younger officials trained in Western ways and methods will attain pre-eminence in time.

In the economy of the universe, the mission of China appears to be to conserve refinement and culture, peace and goodwill, by the inculcation of the principles of filial piety, forbearance, industry and thrift. If Chinese civilization ever spreads at all beyond its present limits, it will spread by assimilation, by winning the hearts of other peoples, rather than by means of ruthless bloodshed and indiscriminate slaughter. History shows that it was by patient methods of assimilation that the small, insignificant kingdom, hemmed in by the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers, attained its present sway over the "Eighteen Provinces" of the Chinese Empire. Who knows that history may not repeat itself in the ages to come? China's policy is to labour and wait, and time has always been in her favour.

Since writing the above, it has been announced that a treaty guaranteeing the integrity and independence of China and Corea was concluded between England and Japan on January 30, 1902. The arrangement appears to be a natural corollary of the restricted interpretation put by Germany on the Anglo-German Agreement, as not affecting any territories situated to the north of the Gulf of Pechihli. Opinions differ as to the ulterior objects of the treaty: some say that it is directed against a possible coalition of Russia, France, and Germany in the Far East, while others declare that it is aimed at the imminent absorption of Manchuria by Russia. There can, however, be no doubt that its direct and immediate effect is to give China a breathing-time of five years to put her house in order without any apprehension of external aggression. The advantages accruing to the signatory Powers are equally patent. Corea is a natural field of Japan's industrial expansion, while Chinese commerce is invaluable to England in view of American and German competition, and in view also of the trade of India being prejudicially affected by chronic famine and plague.

The treaty connotes three things:

1. That China has fallen so low in her powers of self-defence as to be placed in the same category as her quondam vassal, Corea.

2. That Japan, which up to 1894-95 has been treated with contempt by China, is now her saviour, protector, and exemplar.

3. That the arrangement has caused a pang of shame and humiliation to H.E. Yuan Shih Kai and other patriotic Chinese statesmen, who will now strive their best to carry out those educational, military, naval, administrative, fiscal, and industrial reforms which have made Japan what she is to-day, and have placed her by the side of England, the greatest naval and commercial Power in the world.

Unless China moves with the times, cultivates closer

relations with the signatory Powers of the treaty, and follows the lead of Japan in attaining, through strenuous activity, a mastery of science and a control of natural forces, she must lag behind in the race, and must abdicate—perhaps for ever—her proud pre-eminence among nations, which she has maintained for over twenty centuries. Indeed, she has arrived at the parting of the ways, and the time has now come for her to reject or follow, both in letter and spirit, the teaching of her great master, Confucius:

“If a man keeps cherishing his old knowledge, so as continually to be acquiring new, he may be a teacher of others.”

# CRETE THE BRIDGE BY WHICH THE CULTURE OF ASIA PASSED INTO EUROPE.

BY R. N. LUCAS.

"Oh, brother, had you known our Camelot,  
Built by old kings age after age—so old!"

SOME five miles from the shore, where the Ægean breaks on the northern coast of Crete, rises a dome-shaped hill facing the east, and flanked by the alpine ridges that rise tier upon tier towards the centre of the island. The hill is some five acres in extent, and from base to summit is one great palace of corridors and courts faced with polished alabaster, and linked by massive staircases of stone.

This is the ancient palace of Knossos, founded by the "Minoan" Kings of Crete, probably about the time that Abraham went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, "before Pelides' death or Homer's birth," now opened to the Mediterranean sky, after more than three thousand years of oblivion, by the excavator's spade, which here, as so often during the last hundred years, has proved itself mightier than the pen. The fabled site of the earliest and obscurist Hellenic sagas is here restored to us in marvellous perfection; the city whose legendary glories even poets have universally believed to be fabulous is shown to have eclipsed in magnificence their wildest dreams. Before the Lions of Mycenæ were reared into their place, centuries before the oft-renewed fight raged around the Skæan Gate, Knossos looked out towards the Ægean

"a city such as vision

Builds from the purple crags and silver towers  
Of battlemented cloud."

No assemblage of ancient Greek buildings of similar date has been previously unearthed in better preservation. We are enabled to reconstruct the palace in imagination almost precisely as it must have appeared in the Mycenæan or pre-

Mycenæan age. And not only is the preservation of the architectural remains often remarkable, but the most delicate works of art, from mural paintings to ivory statuettes of marvellous workmanship, have been recovered also, showing the "art of Dædalus" to have been no mere legendary dream, but in many respects to have equalled, and in some excelled, the art of classical, and, indeed, all succeeding times.

No doubt can be entertained that Crete, and especially Knossos, was the gateway by which Asiatic and Egyptian art and civilization entered Greece, and through Greece passed on to Europe at large. Once again legend has been vindicated against the pen of the sceptic by the spade of the explorer. And many are the points at which the discoveries shed a light at once suggestive and striking in the genesis and credibility of early myth. If the mystery of the "labyrinth" is not fully revealed, an explanation of its name—itsself a problem—is offered, and we even begin to comprehend, as will be seen, the fable of the Minotaur and the tribute of Athenian captives. But, above all, Knossos has swept away the sceptical argument against the authenticity of the Homeric poems, that writing was unknown in Homeric Greece, for the Knossians of pre-Mycenæan times knew how to write, and quantities of an antique script have been preserved, the mere existence of which revolutionizes prevailing notions of the age and development of early Hellenic culture.

Egyptian relics lend colour to the belief that Knossos existed and flourished at the date of the twelfth dynasty, about 2500 B.C., or earlier. Its glory seems to have departed about the Mycenæan age. No later city, apparently, flourished on the same site, and soon after its abandonment it must have been gradually covered in and forgotten. Hence the preservation of the remains—untouched from before the times of Homer till to-day. Four years ago the hill was a dome-shaped pasturage for the flocks of the Cretan peasants. When the island was

freed from Turkish (mis)rule excavations were commenced, and now it presents in wonderful preservation the ruins of probably the oldest palace in Greece.

In general arrangement the Knossos palace resembles that of other great palaces of the Mycenæan age—a large and ample central courtyard surrounded by buildings, generally of at least two stories, facing upon and approached from it, different levels and structures being connected by stairways of varying size. The lower portion, towards the base of the hill, is supported by a fourfold wall or terrace of “cyclopean” masonry of singular massiveness, and in general resembling the similar walls of the Acropolis at Argos and Tiryns. Conspicuous is the great quadruple staircase, of imposing height. Marvellous is the finish and fitting of the massive polished steps. Incompletely excavated and worn as it is, its effect is still astonishingly impressive and commanding. In the days of the glory of Knossos, when the “Minoan” Kings ruled the Ægean, its magnificence must have been superb.

It is difficult to form an image of what the exterior appearance of the palace must have been. Its plan is so elaborate. It is such a “labyrinth” of halls and chambers, gateways, and corridors and courts. But the “throne-room” is in somewhat better preservation, and must have been stately in its splendid simplicity. Though the minute decoration is elaborate and ornate, the general design is so dignified and so severe that, though this was the main centre from which the art and commerce of Asia were distributed to Europe when civilization first took root in the soil of Greece, there is no hint of the barbaric, no suggestion of Oriental meretriciousness. We are here in the presence of the very earliest triumphs of Hellenic art. To Pheidias and Praxiteles the very memory had become a myth. And yet, though the influence of Egypt and Asia is apparent, we encounter already that freedom and independence in artistic conception, controlled by the grand moderation and restraint, which alike in literature and art marked off the

creations of Hellenic genius from all else that has been accomplished before or since.

This is shown very particularly in the structure and design of the so-called "throne-room." Dr. Evans has exhibited a drawing of this apartment "restored" from what still remains of it. It was a long quadrilateral chamber, the roof supported by columns, and round the walls built-in stone seats somewhat resembling the sedilia in an Early English or Transition choir. On one side was a great stone chair with distinct Gothic suggestions, and reminiscent of some of the mediæval coronation chairs.\* Opposite this was, on the opposite side of the apartment, a great stone bath, or impluvium. But the leading artistic features of the chamber were the columns and mural paintings. The base of the columns was of stone, as also the capitals; the shafts, as in other buildings of the Mycenæan age, were of wood. The capitals were of singularly elaborate design, presenting suggestions of the Egyptian lotus pattern, treated with great freedom and originality. The mural paintings were conspicuous for marvellous colouring and wonderful complexity of design. They enable us well to understand how the myth which associated Dædalus with Knossos conferred on the adjective "dædal" the signification of many-coloured. Very curious is one of the leading features in the designs, the form of a griffin with animal body and a sort of magnified cock's head. Probably the roof supported by the columns was coloured also. Next to the effect produced by its fine proportions, the "throne-room" in the days of the splendour of Knossos must have impressed the beholder by the magnificence of its colour scheme.

In one portion of the palace was discovered what Mr. Evans and some others regard as a shrine. There, at any rate, was found the clay figure of a goddess, cylindrical below, with a dove on her head. There also were cult-objects, consisting of double axes of stucco, rising between

\* A cast of this chair, presented by Dr. Evans, is now in the British Museum, and may be inspected near the library door.

pairs of sacral horns. Each of the latter showed the sockets for the cult-object between the horns, while a small double axe of steatite lay against one of them. Evidence of the worship of the double-axe has been discovered elsewhere in Crete, notably in the Dictæan cave of Mount Ida by Mr. Hogarth. Mr. Evans also points to a square pillar, with rough double-axes cut on it as evidence of the same cult, though there appears to be some doubt whether these marks, which are really only scratched on, and were probably concealed by stucco, are anything more than masons' marks.

The general artistic remains are remarkably varied, and nearly all of them display unexpected and astonishing artistic ability. Mural paintings, frescoes and reliefs in hard plaster are especially noticeable in this respect, and everywhere we have the same surprising wealth of colour, often accompanied by extreme realism of presentation, particularly of animals and men in rapid motion. This is specially noticeable in the case of a fresco depicting what is obviously a bull-fight, in which girls, nude but for a waist-cloth and peculiarly light and modern-looking slippers, are among the toreadors. The vigour and rush of the long-horned bull are portrayed with wonderful realism and verve. The bull is, of course, a familiar object in Mycenæan art, and scenes of the hunting and capture of the wild bull were known before from Mycenæ and elsewhere. But this is quite different. It is an obvious bull-fight, and suggestive of the bull-ring and organized bull-fighting. Other subjects are processions of human figures, and a most interesting mosaic of porcelain plaques, many of which portray houses, so that a whole street of a city of Crete about 2000-1500 B.C. could be now reconstructed. Some of these houses must have had a remarkably modern appearance, being three stories high, and provided with windows of four and six panes. Extremely modern also were the sanitary arrangements of the palace itself, which were far ahead of anything else to be met with elsewhere

until quite modern times—a whole system of latrines and flush-pipes leading from even the upper stories to extensive drains below, some of the latter being nearly large enough for a man to stand upright in.

Perhaps, however, the most notable evidence of the artistic powers and capabilities of the age is provided by the reliefs in hard plaster, of which the most remarkable are the head of a bull magnificently modelled, and the figure of an athlete. The latter, like so many Mycenæan figures, is curiously narrowed and contracted (probably a convention) about the waist, but in the fashioning of shoulders and arms, and in the suggestively defiant pose, is a palpable forerunner of the sculpture of classical times. Of not less artistic excellence than either of these is the head of a lioness in full relief. This is treated with a degree of naturalism which distinctly marks it off from the conventional treatment of such subjects in the Asiatic art of the time.

In the less ambitious arts there is almost greater wealth of subject-matter and originality and width of scope and handling. Among these must be specially mentioned cameo-cutting—an art not revived till long subsequently—intaglio engraving, and the cutting of gems. The latter are not peculiar to Knossos, though some of the finest specimens have been obtained from that site, and may be inspected in the British Museum. Crystal plaques backed with miniatures, and marvellously realistic ivory statuettes of diving youths, show a mastery of naturalistic detail not again encountered in the history of art till the time of the Italian Renaissance.

Perhaps the most suggestive discovery of the whole excavation was provided by the great treasure-chamber, unearthed at some distance behind the so-called "throne room." In a long, narrow chamber, standing erect, were disclosed a large number of great stone jars, some 3 feet 6 inches high, of artistic outline, and strongly reminiscent of the class of receptacle that figures usually in connection with Ali Baba and the forty thieves. They

contained the gold and jewels forming the palace treasure. In them were also found the tablets inscribed with the peculiar Cretan script, the significance of which for the history of civilization and culture is of the highest importance. One of the jars which was excavated some years previously to the discoveries of Dr. Evans by a Cretan gentleman—Mr. Minos Calocherinos—was brought to England, and may be seen at the British Museum. It is precisely similar to the others, but did not contain any script tablets. The discovery of these is due to the recent excavations.

The script is of two kinds—a conventionalized pictorial or hieroglyphic, and linear. Certain resemblances have been traced between the former and early Phœnician characters. The latter presents a certain superficial resemblance to the pre-cuneiform script of early Babylonia. Unfortunately, all attempts to decipher either have so far proved abortive, but from the frequent recurrence of certain signs, believed to be numerals, the tablets are thought to form lists of palace stores. The approximate date of the tablets is given by the experts as 1500 B.C. Till quite recently the earliest Greek inscriptions were those on the statue of Rameses II., of about 600 B.C., though not long ago the Cyprus excavations conducted by Dr. Murray unearthed a ring of nearly as early date as the script of Knossos, bearing inscribed characters, which have been interpreted into the name Lenagoras. These characters are quite different from the Cretan, and probably both were early attempts to develop an alphabet suited to the Greek language—nearly collateral experiments, in fact. The significance of both for the Homeric question, however, cannot be overrated. For a long time certain specious arguments were based upon the assumption that in so-called Homeric times writing was unknown. Knossos and Cyprus have enormously discounted, if not altogether destroyed, their value.

Discoveries of hardly less value than those furnished by

Knossos have been made by other explorers at various other points in Crete. Most notable amongst these is the great palace at Phaistos, excavated by the Italian Archæological Society. This great building, of about the same age as Knossos, was on a nobler site (a spur of mountain looking out over the Southern Ægean), and on an even more magnificently stupendous scale. Its courtyards are more spacious, its staircases broader and more massive, though not so high, and the polished alabaster which formed the facing of the important portions in both palaces is used even more lavishly. Above all, the mural paintings possess a still higher artistic finish, and in particular a greater fidelity to Nature, an even freer and more unfettered choice of subject, and more perfect realism in treatment and detail; this is especially the case in such subjects as birds, foliage, and vegetation. It is when we contrast these masterpieces with the conventional contemporary art of Egypt and Mesopotamia that we realize how fully at its earliest dawn Greek art held the promise of all it would be, and that "Minoan" Crete was as far ahead of these other countries artistically as the Homeric poems were superior to the stiff and stilted epic of Pentour.

Among other researches, the excavation of the Dictæan cave of classical antiquity (already referred to) by Mr. Hogarth, and the suggestive light it throws on early Cretan worship, are of high interest, as also the same explorer's discovery of a complete Mycenæan town of at least 500 by 300 yards in the neighbourhood of Zakro. The largest of these houses are described by Mr. Hogarth as being partly megalithic and partly of ashlar masonry, with upper stories of brick. Here, too, was found a well-preserved tablet with characters in linear script.

Quite recently also Dr. Evans has found proof that the Palace of Knossos was surrounded by an extensive town, while a sort of summer palace beyond its confines existed on the banks of a small stream.

Neither Knossos nor Phaistos, nor, apparently, the town

near Zakro, was fortified in any way, an eloquent confirmation of the tradition or legend that attributes to the "Minoan" Kings of Crete the empire of the sea. Like another maritime island of modern times, they appear to have found an inviolable rampart in the naval skill of their people and the wooden walls of their ships.

The discoveries in Crete very clearly demonstrate the existence on Greek soil, in what is in all probability a pre-Mycenæan age, of a lofty stage of civilization and extraordinary artistic development. Evidence that the schools of Egypt and Babylonia supplied the models from the study of which the Cretan artists developed the free and original creations which now astonish the world are abundantly supplied by the remains. We are thus able to trace the effect of these two influences in moulding and being moulded by Hellenic genius in these the very earliest manifestations of its creative spirit. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that Crete was indeed the bridge by which the art, the culture, the civilization, and in all probability also the commerce, of Egypt and Asia passed into Greece and Europe.

The discoveries teach also another lesson—one taught previously at Mycenæ, Tiryns, Hissarlik; indeed, on almost every well-known ancient site on classical soil that has been thoroughly excavated—that the traditions and legends of early ages have a much greater and deeper basis in fact than the sceptics who dismiss them with a shrug or a smile are willing to admit. They show that, whatever may be the exact truth contained in the legends about Minos, Dædalus, Pasiphae, and the Minotaur, these legends were at least based on the existence in remote antiquity—as much before Aristotle as the days of King Arthur and the Round Table before our own—of a powerful cultivated and artistic Cretan State possessed, in all probability, of paramount naval power in the Ægean, and doubtless levying a tribute—often, perhaps, oppressive—on the island cities and the towns of the coast.

This much is legitimate generalization from the discovered facts. But in the enthusiasm natural, perhaps, to a discoverer Dr. Evans goes much further than this. He suggests that the great palace of Knossos is indeed the labyrinth built by Dædalus for Minos, in which the nine-yearly tribute of Athenian youths and maidens was devoured by the Minotaur, and speaks of "Minoan" Crete with the same precision and certainty with which it is legitimate to allude to Ramesside Egypt or the Babylonia of Sargon of Accad. This is obscuring the true scientific view with a halo of poetic speculation comparable to the hasty assertion of Schliemann that he had discovered "the bones of Agamemnon." There *may* have been a Minos of Crete—more probably a long "Minoan" dynasty—great sea-king and law-giver, as the legend that makes him judge in the underworld after his death would seem to suggest. But at present we have no evidence that absolutely proves it, no deciphered inscriptions bearing his name; none of that irrefragable evidence that enables us to assert that Rameses II. drove through the gates of Thebes to the Battle of Carchemish with the same certainty that we can declare George III. to have progressed up Ludgate Hill to dine at the Guildhall. The evidence may be forthcoming as the result of further research. But until it is, let us be content to say that these discoveries prove the existence, in the legendary age, of a Crete great, powerful, magnificent, artistic, and cultivated, about which such traditions as those prevailing in classical times may well have originated. And this, surely, for the present is enough.

On two points the discoveries afford, not, perhaps, what amounts to a confirmation of the legends, but interesting side-lights upon them. These points refer to the name "labyrinth" and to the tributes of captives devoted to the Minotaur.

Of course, there was another labyrinth in ancient times, mentioned by Herodotus as constructed by Mœris (a monarch identified with a King of the twelfth dynasty) in the

Fayoum in Egypt. Though the name may have been applied generically to superficially similar structures in Egypt and Crete, mystery has hitherto enshrouded the origin of the Cretan name. The discovery of the double-axes as possible objects of worship at Knossos seems to furnish a clue. Plutarch mentions (*Quest. Græc.*) that the Carian Zeus was worshipped under the symbol of a double-axe, and was entitled Ζεύς λαβραδένς, from the Carian word λαβρυς (*labrys*), an axe. A similar worship in Knossos might explain the origin of the name.

The bull-fights depicted on the palace walls of Knossos, with the practically nude toreadors of both sexes, *may* have originated the other legend. Such a sport was, of course, highly dangerous, and only too likely to be accompanied by frequent fatal accidents. If the Knossians compelled or persuaded subject cities to furnish youths and maidens to be trained for these bull-fights, the legend that captives were transported to Crete and devoured by a bull-like monster requires but little imagination to account for its growth. Such an explanation works in well, too, with the other legend, that Minos' son Androgeos met his death through being sent by Ægeus, King of Athens, against the Marathonian bull. The father would in such a case have been most likely to establish funeral games in memory of his son, and to compel the city of his killers to furnish a contingent of participants. That bull-fights formed a part of such celebrations, considering the artistic records of Knossos, is probable, and that would be quite sufficient for the legend.

We shall probably never obtain the evidence either to prove or refute such speculations. They are interesting and suggestive, but that is all that can be said.

The solid result of the discoveries is to show that Crete was the great stepping-stone by which the culture, art, and civilization of Asia passed on into Europe, and that, as the result of two years' investigations, is for Dr. Evans and his fellow-explorers a triumph indeed!

# THE LITERARY ACTIVITY OF THE PARSIS DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS IN AVESTIC AND PEHLEVI STUDIES.\*

BY L. C. CASARTELLI.

JUST ten years ago I had the honour of submitting to the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists assembled in London a brief paper on "The Literary Activity of the Parsis during the past Ten Years in Avestic and Pehlevi Studies."† I ventured to say at the time that it appeared to me that such a bibliographical review was "not merely a long catalogue of publications of varying value and merit, but also a fresh indication of that remarkable readiness to accept and assimilate outside elements, and to bring them into harmonious symmetry with its own systems, which I believe to have been one of the leading characteristics of the Eranian intellect in all stages of its history."

For the same reason I venture to offer to this Thirteenth International Congress a similar review of the ten years which have elapsed since my first paper. The same tendencies have been at work during the past decennium, and that on even a larger scale; so that the literary output has been much more abundant, and at the same time more useful for Western scholars of the Avesta and kindred literature.

Once more I begin by recording my indebtedness to learned Parsi correspondents who have aided me in the compilation of this paper, both by supplying abundant and accurate information, and by forwarding to me copies of the various publications mentioned below. My thanks are particularly due to that indefatigable worker, Shams-ul Ulamâ Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Secretary of the "Parsee Punchayet," a body whose enlightened and generous patronage has done so much for the encouragement of Avestic and Pehlevi studies, and to which I am personally indebted, with other European scholars, for a regular supply of the most important books published under its auspices in Bombay. This body administers two valuable literary funds, viz.—"The Sir Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund" and "The Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund." Other correspondents to whose help I am indebted are the High Priest, Shams-ul Ulâma Kaikhosru Dastur Jamaspji, and Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawjee Anklesaria.

## LOSSES BY DEATH.

Before giving the promised list of publications, I wish to say a few words concerning one or two topics of general interest both to the enlightened Parsi body and to the cause of Avestic studies.

It will be remembered that at our London meeting in 1892 Dr. L. H.

\* Paper read at the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists held in Hamburg, 1902.

† Transactions of the Ninth Congress, vol. ii., pp. 528-536.

Mills (since then appointed Professor of Zend Philology in the University of Oxford) read a paper about, and distributed facsimile pages of, the precious Codex of the Yasna (J 2), generously presented to the Bodleian Library by the High Priest, Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asâna, D.C.L. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (Tüb.). The splendid colotype facsimile edition of this, the oldest known Avesta MS., by Dr. Mills, appeared the following year (1893). Our section of the London Congress requested the late M. Darmesteter and myself to draw up and convey to the generous Dastur an expression of thanks for his munificent devotion to Oxford, and I believe this resolution was duly transmitted by M. Darmesteter. Since then we have to record with regret the death of the venerable High Priest, Dr. Minocheherji, which occurred in 1898, as well as that of the other Parsi High Priest, the well-known Dastur Peshotan Behramji Sanjâna, the editor of the *Dinkart* and of other Pehlevi texts. Both these High Priests have been succeeded by their sons, each of whom is a worker in the literary field—the former by D.\* Kaikhosru Jamaspji, above referred to; the latter by D. Dārāb, one of the best-known Parsi names in Avestic studies.

#### ACTION OF BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.

A most important factor in the encouragement of a scientific study of their national classical literature by the rising generation of Parsis is the action of the University of Bombay. It may be remembered that at our Tenth Congress in Geneva in 1894 we were invited by Mr. (now Sir M.) Bohnaggee to support a recommendation in favour of the placing of the Zend and Pehlevi languages by that University on a footing of equality with the Sanskrit and Arabic languages as subjects of study and examination. Our section passed a vote of sympathy with the desire expressed.† These wishes have since been fulfilled. In consequence of the report of a special committee (consisting of four Parsi savants and the late Rev. H. Bochum, S.J.) then sitting, the Faculty of Arts on December 18, 1894, recommended to the Syndicate “that the study of Avesta and Pahlavi . . . be extended to the whole University course . . . in the character of a classical language, subject to the same general regulations as the other classical languages.”

The Senate agreed to the proposal, which in 1895 finally received the assent of Government. The effect of this wise decision has been not only to encourage the Parsi body in the accurate study of their own national languages and literatures, but also to call forth a series of text-books specially prepared for students, after the manner of the school editions of Latin and Greek classics familiar in Europe, several of which will be mentioned in the subsequent pages.

#### EDITIONS OF PEHLEVI TEXTS.

Among editions of original texts, whether Zend or Pehlevi, I must give the place of honour to the admirable facsimile photozincographic editions

\* The abbreviation “D.” throughout this paper stands for the title of the Parsi priests, “Dastur.”

† Actes du dixième Congrès, 1<sup>e</sup> partie, pp. 79, 81.

of the "Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund," established to commemorate the golden jubilee of the late Queen Victoria in 1887, at the suggestion of M. Darmesteter. Two volumes have appeared of this undertaking, viz. :

1. *Nirangistān*, a photozincographed facsimile of a MS. belonging to Dr. Hoshangjee Jamaspjee. Edited by Darab D. Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Bombay, Government Photozincographic Department, 1894 (pp. 55 + fol. 195).

The MS. herein edited really contains two works, the *Āt̄rpatastān*, a section of the Huspāram nask, which occupies folios 1-27, and the *Nirangistān* itself, occupying the remainder. As these portions of Pehlevi translations from the original Avesta are fully described by West in the *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie* under § 20 of his list of Pehlevi works (II. Bd., pp. 85, 86), it is unnecessary to say any more about them. To his facsimile reproduction D. Dārāb has prefixed a full collection of Dr. Hoshangji's MS. with that known as T.D.

The second volume of the series is :

2. *Mādigān-i Hasār Dādīstān*, a photozincographed facsimile of a MS. belonging to the Library in the Zarthoshti Anjuman Ātashbeharām. With an Introduction by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A. (pp. xvi + 110). Poona : Government Photozincographic Department, 1901.

This is a book of larger *format* than the preceding, and the editor assures us in his introduction that, owing to the damaged state of much of the text, the photographic reproduction has been exceptionally difficult. The work is the one entitled by West "The Social Code of the Parsis in Sāsānian Times," and described by him under § 96 of his list (*Grundriss*, pp. 116-117).

Besides these facsimiles, other Pehlevi texts have been made accessible in ordinary letterpress during the past decade by Parsi editors. First of all, I must mention the continuation of the edition of that most extensive and valuable work recorded in my London paper in 1892, viz. :

3 to 5. *The Dinkard*. The Original Pahlavi Text ; Translations ; Commentary, and Glossary. By Peshotan D. Behramjee Sanjana. Bombay : Duftur Ashkara Press. Vol. vii., 1894 ; vol. viii., 1897 ; vol. ix., 1900.

These three volumes carry forward the text of the work from chap. 276 to chap. 420 of the third book, with the whole of the fourth book, and twenty-eight chapters of the fifth book. The matter of these two latter books is of exceptional interest, as will be gathered from West's summary of them in the *Grundriss* (§ 33, pp. 92-94). It will afford much valuable material for a study of the patristic or traditional doctrines and practices of Mazdeism. Owing to the regretted death of the original editor, the D. Peshotan, who began his work in 1874, the last volume (ix.) was brought out by his son and successor, D. Dārāb.

The other deceased High Priest, Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji, began in 1897 the edition of a number of minor Pehlevi works under the title :

6. *Pahlavi Texts*. Edited by Jamaspji D. Minocherji Jamasp-Asana (*not yet completed*). Bombay : Fort Press, 1897-1902.

The following are the texts edited in this volume ; I append the number

under which they occur in West's list and the page of the *Grundriss* whereon they are described :

- Ayibatkâr-i Zarîrân [W. 85, p. 117].  
 Shatunîhâ-i Aêrân [W. 89, p. 118].  
 Awadîh u Sabîkîh-i Sigastân [W. 93, p. 118].  
 Khûsrû-i Kavâtân u ritâk-i [W. 86, p. 118].  
 Andarzîhâ-i Pêshinikân.  
 Chîtak Andarz-i Poryôtkeshân.

The first part, containing the above texts (48 pp.), appeared in the original editor's lifetime (1897); the subsequent texts, though already printed, are only just about to be issued under the editorship of Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, M.A., who has also written a very complete and erudite introduction, with a full account of the MSS. used and an analysis of each work. The treatises in this second part are of very various length, and too numerous to be recorded in these pages. Most of them will be found in West's list under §§ 33 and 95.

It has not escaped the notice of Western scholars that some of the historical or legendary treatises contained in this repertory must have been utilized by Firdâusi in the compilation of his immortal *Shâhnâmeh*. The whole collection occupies about 210 pages of Pehlevi text.

I have been favoured with advance proof-sheets of the second part, completing the text and giving part of the Introduction.

It is a well-known fact that whilst the Hindus are quite destitute of any historical literature, the Erânians, on the contrary, have a rather considerable store of historical writings. An interesting indication of these racial peculiarities is afforded by a comparison of the annalistic rock-inscriptions of the Achæmenid Kings of Persia with the religious inscriptions of King Asoka.

One of the most popular as well as most interesting historical books preserved in Pehlevi is the story of the life of the famous founder of the Sassanian dynasty, Ardeshir Pâpakân. Of this work no less than three independent editions have appeared during the past six years. They are as follows :

7. *The Kârnâmê i Artakhshîr i Pâpakân, being the oldest surviving Records of the Zoroastrian Emperor Ardashîr*. By Darab D. Peshotan Sanjana, B.A. (pp. xxxv + 162). Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1896.

8. *Kârnâmak-i Artakhshîr-i Pâpakân. Memoirs of King Ardashîr*. Edited by Kaikobâd Adarbâd D. Noshervân (pp. x + 148). Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1896.

9. *Kârnâmak-i Artakhshîr Pâpakân*. By Edalji Kersâspji Antiâ (pp. 260). Bombay: Fort Printing Press, 1900.

All three editions, especially the first and last, are very creditable performances, and are much alike in arrangement. They give us the Pehlevi text, with transliteration, an English or Gujarati translation (or both), notes with variants, and the corresponding passages (in Persian) from the *Shâhnâmeh*. The multiplication of these editions is probably to be explained by educational requirements in connection with the Bombay University.

Yet a fourth edition of the same text appears in a volume bearing a name almost identical to one cited above, viz :

10. *The Pahlavi Texts*. By Khudâyâr D. Shaharyâr Irani (pp. 161). Bombay : Fort Printing Press, 1899.

This work differs from those above mentioned, partly because it contains texts already printed elsewhere (Andarz-i Âdarbâd Mâraspandân ; Andarz-i Vêhzâd Farkho Fîrûz ; Andarz-i Khûsrû-i Kavâdân ; Mâdigân-i Chatrang, and the Kârnamak-i Artakhshir-i Pâpakân), and partly because its object is different, it being specially addressed to the Mazdeans still remaining in Persia, who are for the most part very ignorant of their traditional literature and classical languages. Hence the texts are followed by a translation into modern Persian.

Dr. West gives a full account of the important theological work *Dâtistân-i Dînik*, the religious doctrine of the High Priest Manuscihar in the latter part of the ninth century A.D. His writings, he remarks, "are undoubtedly the most difficult Pahlavi texts in existence, both to understand and to translate" (*Grundriss*, § 46, p. 103). The work has been translated by himself in S.B.E. XVIII. We now have an edition of the text in course of production, not yet completed :

11. *Dâtistân-i Dînik*. By Tehmuras Dinshawjee Anklesaria. Bombay : Fort Printing Press, 1902.

I have received advanced proofs of the first 112 pages of this elegantly printed text, with collation notes. Its editor is the owner of the well-known and often quoted codex T.D.

A portion of the same work, which had been prescribed as a text for the B.A. examination of the University of Bombay, had already been edited in a little pamphlet by another scholar :

12. *The Dâtistân-i Dînik. Questions I.-XV., with Answers*. By Darab D. Peshotan Sanjana (pp. 30). Bombay : Education Society's Press, 1897.

One of the earliest known and most studied treatises is that known as the *Minokhired*, or *Mainyo-i-Khard*, edited and translated from a Pâzend text by West as far back as 1871, at a time when no Pehlevi text of it was yet known. A facsimile of one such text was published by Andreas in 1882, and West gave a translation of the Pehlevi text in 1885 (S.B.E. XXIV.). Since then, this book having been prescribed for the Intermediate Examination of the Bombay University, a school edition, with introduction and commentary, appeared in 1895 :

13. *The Dînâ i Mânû i Khrat ; or the Religious Decisions of the Spirit of Wisdom*. Edited by Darab D. Peshotan Sanjana, B.A. (pp. xx + 88). Bombay : Duftur Ashkara Press, 1895.

A much more important critical edition of all three texts of this famous book is now about to be issued, of which I have received the advance proofs, as follows :

14. *The Pahlavi-Pâvand-Sanskrit Texts of the Dînâk va Minôk-i Kherat and Madam Chêm-i Kûstik bastan*. By Tehmuras Dinshawjee Anklesaria (pp. 177, incomplete). Bombay : Fort Printing Press, 1902.

The introduction and commentary have not yet appeared, but great

praise must be given to this fine edition of the texts. The second treatise included is a short tract on the Kusti or sacred cord.

The new High Priest, D. Kaikhosru Jamaspji, has obligingly sent me advance proofs of his new edition of a famous work :

15. *Ardâ-î Virâf Nâmak*. Text, with new Collations, and Gujarati and Persian (metrical) versions (pp. 151, *incomplete*). Bombay, 1902.

16. I have similarly received the first few rough pages of proof of the forthcoming edition of a hitherto unedited text, the *Jâmâspî*, or *Jâmâsp Nâmak*, described by West in *Grundriss*, under § 66 (p. 110). Of this the Pehlevi, with Pâzand and Persian texts, and Gujarati and English translations, is being issued by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, from the Bombay Education Society's Press.

In my London paper of 1892 I made reference to "the new edition of the Pehlevi version of the Vendidad which is now being undertaken by Dārāb Dastur Peshotan Sanjāna, who has kindly forwarded me advance proof-sheets of the first few pages." Adding : "This will evidently be a very carefully collated text, with abundant and scholarly *apparatus criticus*, and will make a handsome, well-printed volume. It is hoped that it may be completed by the end of this year."

The work actually appeared some three years later as :

17. *The Zand-î Javîd Shêda Dâd ; or the Pahlavi Version of the Avesta Vendidad*. Edited by Darab D. Peshotan Sanjana, B.A. (pp. xlix + 229). Bombay : Education Society's Press, 1895.

This edition is primarily intended for the use of the candidates for the B.A. and M.A. degrees in the University of Bombay. It contains the text of fargards I. to IX. and XIX. only, with collation and notes, and a very full introduction.

It was also for the use of such students that a promising young scholar, since deceased, began his :

18. *Vendîdâd translated into English from Pahlavi*. By Navroji Maneckji Nasservanji Kanga (pp. 125). Bombay : Parsi Orphanage Printing Works, 1899-1900.

This work was intended to give a transliteration into Latin characters of D. Dārāb's edition, with English translation and a running commentary in notes. The talented young author died in 1900, and only the first four fargards have appeared.

Again for the use of students, there has appeared a cheap lithographical edition of a very celebrated text :

19. *The Pahlvi* [sic] *Bundehesh*, lithographed. By Maneckji Rustomji Unvalla. Bombay, 1897.

This is a bare text without notes or comment, but neatly and legibly written.

A facsimile text of a Codex, which I have not yet referred to, has been published independently of the Victoria Jubilee Fund, though produced at the same Government Works, in the following volume :

20. *The Text of the Pahlvi Zand-i Vohmān Yasht, with Transliteration and Translation into Gujrāti*. With notes, by Kaikobād Ādarbād D. Noshervān (pp. 23 + 28 + 151). Poona : Government Photozinc. Office, 1900.

## EDITIONS OF ZEND TEXTS.

I have now to mention four Zend texts, chiefly prepared for educational purposes, as follows :

21. *Text, Translation [Gujarati], and Commentary of the Original Speech of Spitama Zarathushtra (Yasna, 45)*. By Framroz Sorabjee Master (pp. 26 + 59). Bombay : Fort Printing Press, 1900.

22. *Mihir Yasht, prepared for the use of Students*. By Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria (pp. 39). Bombay : Fort Printing Press, 1900.

23. *The Vendidad : A New Edition*. By Ervad Eduljee Keraspjee Antia (pp. iii + 203). Bombay : Dufur Ashkara Press, 1901.

24. *The Yashts with Avesta Fragments*. By Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria (pp. 272, *incomplete*). Bombay : Fort Printing Press, 1902-03.

This last, of which I have been favoured with advance proofs, differs from the others in being a critical edition, with collations, and not a mere school edition. It will be ready next year.

## AVESTA DICTIONARY.

In my last report, ten years ago, I had the pleasure of referring to the very useful *Practical Grammar of the Avesta Language*, the first to appear in English, by Mr. Kavasji Edalji Kanga (1891). Since then Mr. Kanga has brought to completion a still more important work :

25. *A Complete Dictionary of the Avesta Language in Guzerati and English*. By Kavasji Edalji Kanga (pp. 31 + 611). Bombay : Education Society's Press, 1900.

This is a large and handsome volume, containing all known Avestic forms, with their renderings in both English and Gujarati, and frequent etymological notes. As every single occurrence of each Zend word is carefully noted, with an exact quotation of chapter and verse in the Avesta, the dictionary will serve also as a concordance. Due attention is given to the divergent views of European Orientalists in the various renderings. The only drawback for occidental students is that both the grammatical terms (cases of nouns, tenses, and moods of verbs, etc.), as well as the titles of Avestic books and the numbers of verses and chapters, are given in Gujarati *only*. The Avestic words themselves are clearly printed in good Zend type. This most meritorious and careful work was in its origin a prize essay ("Ardeshir Sorabjee Dustoor Kamdin's Prize Essay"), and is one more striking example of the great encouragement given to Zoroastrian scholars by the munificent generosity of wealthy Parsis.

## PUBLICATIONS IN GUJARATI.

The above completes my review of the books, large or small, concerning Zend and Pehlevi literature published by Parsi scholars during the past decade, and likely to be of use or interest to Western students. In addition to these, there is a considerable output of similar works written in Gujarati for the benefit of Parsis themselves, of which, however, I cannot pretend to give a full account. Between thirty and forty books and pamphlets of this kind have kindly been placed at my disposal by my Parsi friends of which some are of scientific or educational interest, others

seem meant for purely religious or devotional use. It must suffice to mention Gujarati translations, often with notes and commentaries, of the various books of the *Avesta* (in six vols.), by K. E. Kanga, the author of the above-quoted dictionary; of the *Bûndehesh*, by J. J. Modi; of the *Vendidad*, by the late Framji Aspendiarji Kabadia (2nd edition); of the *Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarîrân*, the *Shatrôihâ-i-Airân*, and the *Afâiya va Sahigiya-i-Sistân* (all texts referred to earlier on in this paper), by J. J. Modi.

Moreover, I must record three volumes of "Iranian Essays," one of "Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects," and one entitled "Shâh-nâmeh and Firdausi," all by the said indefatigable Mr. J. J. Modi. Two historical works of some pretension likewise deserve reference: a large two-volume work, "History of the Kings of Persia" (1895), by Palanji Barjorji Desai—which is also a Kamdin's Prize Essay—and a volume, "Sâssâni Shâhnâmeh," by the same author.

The remaining Gujarati publications, though many of them are of considerable interest, do not seem to call for special mention in this place.\*

#### SHORT ESSAYS AND PAPERS (IN ENGLISH).

On the other hand, there is a large number of short essays, papers read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and similar societies, written in the English language by Parsi scholars, to which the attention of Western Orientalists may fittingly be called. I venture to give a list of these, often very interesting, short publications.

By Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi:

- "Dante and Virâf" (1892).
- "The So-called Pehelvi Origin of the Sindibâd-nâmeh" (1892).
- "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees" (1892).
- "The Persian Mâr-nâmeh" (1893).
- "The Religious System of the Parsis" (1893).
- "Cucullin and Conloch and Rustam and Sohrâb" (1893).
- "Charms or Amulets for some Diseases of the Eye" and "Ancient Beliefs about the Eclipse" (1894).
- "The Bas-relief of Beharâm Gour at Naksh-i-Rustam" and "The Horse in Ancient Iran" (1894).
- "Firdousi's Version of the Indian Game of Chess" and "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians" (1896).
- "La Cérémonie du Naojote parmi les Parsis" (1896).
- "The Antiquity of the Avesta" (1896).
- "Belief about the Future of the Soul among the Ancient Egyptians and Irânians" (1897).
- "The Ancient name of Sanjân" (1900).
- "Two Amulets of Ancient Persia" (1901).
- "An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundehehsh" (1901).
- "Parsee Life in Parsee Songs: I. Cradle Songs" (1902).

\* I may, however, mention the Report of the Zarthoshti Dînnî Khôl Karnâri Mandli ("Association for Research in the Zoroastrian Religion") for 1891-98, and the periodical *Parsi Prakâsh*, 1891-99.

By D. Dārāb Peshotanji Sanjāna :

"The Position of Zoroastrian Women in Remote Antiquity" and "Syavakhsh and Sudabeh" (1892).

"The Extant Pahlavi Codices of the Nirangistan" (1894).

"The Pahlavi Text of the Nirangistan wanting in Indian MSS." (1894).

"Tansar's Alleged Pahlavi Letter to the King of Tabaristan" (1898).

"Observations on M. Darmesteter's Theory regarding Tansar's Letter" (1898).

"The Reference to Gaotema in the Avesta" (1898).

By R. P. Karkaria :

"The Teleology of the Shikand Gumanik Vijar and Cicero's *de Natura Deorum*" (1897).

By Sheriarji Dadhabai Bharuchā :

"Brief Sketch of the Zoroastrian Religion and Customs" (1893).

#### TWO VOLUMES IN COLLABORATION WITH EUROPEANS.

This record would be incomplete without mention of the remarkable and, in its way, unique volume :

*The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume.* By Various Scholars, edited by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi (pp. lxxvi + 323). Bombay: Fort Printing Press, 1900.

This is the first instance, so far as I know, of Western and Eastern scholars combining to do honour by means of a *Festgruss*, of the kind familiar to us in Europe, to an Oriental scholar, in this case the well-known Mr. K. R. Cama, of whom Mr. Modi wrote in words quoted by me in 1892: "He was the teacher of our Bombay Parsi scholars. Having himself commenced these studies under Professor Spiegel of Germany and Professor Oppert of Paris, he opened classes in Bombay to teach the Parsi students according to the scientific and systematic method of European scholars. With the exception of the Dasturs, all the Parsi scholars are either his pupils or his pupils' pupils."

The volume, compiled to celebrate his seventieth birthday, contains, besides contributions from six occidentals (Messrs. West, Wilhelm, Geldner, Mills, Williams Jackson, and myself), twenty-four essays on various topics of Avestic and Zoroastrian literature from the pens of some twenty Parsi scholars. It will not be necessary to give a list of them here.

Another example of successful co-operation is the

*Catalogue of Books on the Irānian Literature published in Europe and India.* Compiled by Dr. Eugen Wilhelm and Bomonji Byramji Patel (pp. 61 + 64). Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1901.

Although several improvements might perhaps be suggested, this catalogue will be found invaluable by Western scholars, to whom it can be confidently recommended.

It will be seen that, in drawing up this decennial report, I have been

troubled with an "embarrassment of wealth." The literary activity of our Parsi *confrères* in the field of those studies to which our section ("Irān") of the Congress is devoted, has been, indeed, exceptionally great during the past decade. Part of this result is certainly owing to the stimulus to these studies given by the action of the University of Bombay; a greater share must be attributed to the enlightened intelligence and munificent encouragement of the Parsi community itself.

#### NOTE.

It will be of interest to European scholars to call attention to the important decennial prize in connection with the University of Bombay, established in memory of the late Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy, third baronet, who died in 1898.

This prize is open to European and American scholars, as well as to Parsis. The first award took place in November last.

The conditions of this prize are as follows :

1. A prize, to be called "The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Third Baronet Prize," of the value of Rs. 1,100, shall be awarded every tenth year to the best essay by a University student in accordance with the subjoined conditions.

2. Competitors shall be graduates or undergraduates or members of any University.

3. The subject of the essay shall be Iranian. It may be on all matters appertaining to ancient Iran, such as its history, literature, science, art, religion, etc. It may be the translation of an hitherto untranslated Avesta, Pahlavi, Cuneiform, or Persian book or inscriptions, gems, jewels, etc., of general Iranian interest, or the preparation of an edition—collated or uncollated—of an unpublished MS.

4. The subject shall be selected and notified by the Syndicate not less than eighteen months before the day for sending in the essay.

5. Each essay shall be written in English, and sent to the University Registrar on or before July 1. Each essay shall be signed by the writer, and shall be accompanied by a statement giving his University standing, if any, his post-office address, and a declaration that the essay sent in by him is *bonâ fide* his own composition.

6. The Judges shall be two in number, and shall be nominated by the Syndicate. Their decision shall be announced on the fourth Monday in November. The honorarium for each Judge shall be ten guineas.

7. The prize shall not be awarded to any essay which, in the opinion of the Judges, would not, when printed, be creditable to the University. But if only one essay be sent in, nothing shall hinder the Judges from awarding to it the prize if it appears to them to come up to the proper standard.

8. The said essay, translation, or edition shall be printed and published by the University, provided always that all expenses of, or incidental to, the printing and publication of the work shall not exceed one-fourth of the total amount available after ten years.

## THE ERA OF ZOROASTER IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT BABYLONIAN RESEARCHES.

BY MEHRJIBHAI NOSHIRWANJI KUKA, M.A.

IN the dim haze of far-off antiquity, the figure that is just discernible towering above all, and absorbing our attention by its unique personality, is that of Zoroaster, the founder of the religion of ancient Iran. The age to which he belongs is so very remote that the eye is often deceived by an illusory image of the far-off scene—the forms looming in the distance seem to assume protean and fantastic features, like objects seen in the gloaming—and it is not, therefore, strange that the personality of the prophet of Iran has been viewed and depicted diversely by men of different ages and climes. In the ancient classical literature we see him represented as a mystic, a philosopher, a magician versed in all the occult sciences, while in the Arabic literature he figures merely as a heresiarch, once a disciple of certain Hebrew prophets. To some people he appears a Chaldean, to some a Median, to others a Bactrian. In the later Avesta and in the Pehlavi books, though we find him delineated with greater faithfulness, there is, at the same time, such a halo of myth surrounding him as to make of him more a demigod than a human being—a circumstance which at one time induced some European savants to doubt his very existence. But no one who has thoroughly studied the Gâthâs—the most ancient scriptures of Mazdaism—can have any doubt that Zoroaster is therein a strong living personality—a prophet, priest, and reformer, imbued with the lofty idea of his mission and striving to inculcate pure monotheism upon the mind of his age.

The question of Zoroaster's actual existence is no longer a mooted one. But the subject that has puzzled the best scholars of our day, as no other point of ancient history has done, is that of the era in which he flourished. While some scholars determine this period to be so old as

2300 B.C., others fix it at 700 B.C. only. Turning to ancient literature, we find the Greek writers assigning to him the age of 6,000 years before Plato, or about 6,350 B.C., while the Pehlavi writers—themselves the followers of Zoroaster—give the very late date of 300 years previous to Alexander—*i.e.*, about 630 B.C. only. These Iranians, none of whom wrote earlier than the Sassanian period, were so far removed from the age in which Zoroaster lived that they had a very hazy notion of the intervening centuries; and, besides, they were sadly wanting in historical knowledge. It is a remarkable fact that both the Indians and the Iranians, while they cultivated other sciences, strangely neglected this branch of literature. The earliest historical documents of the Iranians are the inscriptions of the Achæmenian Kings, but it is doubtful whether any of the Pehlavi writers knew how to decipher them, for their writings betray a deplorable ignorance of even the names of most of the Kings of that dynasty.

The present age, however, having at its command the researches made in the last century into various departments of knowledge, such as philology, science of religion, Babylonian literature, etc., is in a better position to take a survey of the far-off regions of ancient history. In fact the searchlight of the first two sciences has already been thrown on the era of Zoroaster, though with indifferent results. But the searchlight of Assyriology, which has not been hitherto employed, is, as it will be presently shown, more powerful for this special purpose, able to penetrate the intervening mists, and capable of furnishing us with the data for forming a more correct estimate of the distance which separates Zoroaster's age from ours.

Philologists had already shown the strong resemblance which the language of the Gâthâs of Zoroaster bears to that of the most ancient portions of the Rig Veda; but till the beginning of the last century, it was not definitely proved that the two scriptures themselves were contemporaneous. This has, however, been done now by a learned Parsee scholar, Ervad Shehriyarji Dadabhai

Bharucha, who, in an essay published in the "K. R. Cama Memorial Volume," has shown that certain passages in the Gâthâs are referred to in the Rig Veda, and *vice versâ*. If the antiquity of the Vedas could be definitely established, it would serve to fix the age of the Gâthâs also; but on the former point too there is no consensus of opinion among Oriental scholars. They assign to the Vedas various dates ranging from B.C. 2300 to B.C. 1200. Mr. Bâl Gangâdhar Tilak, of Poona, in a work called "Orion; or, The Antiquity of the Vedas," published in 1893, has shown that the Vedas were composed some time between B.C. 6000 and B.C. 4000—that is, at the time when the vernal equinox point was in Orion. This is a more trustworthy evidence than that relied on by other scholars, viz., the evidence from the changes which a language undergoes in the course of time; for Asiatic languages are more conservative in this respect, and the changes in them occur much more slowly than they do in European languages.

Setting aside, however, the question of the antiquity of the Vedas, let us proceed to examine what independent and conclusive evidence is available from other sources for fixing the landmarks of Zoroaster's age.

From the fragments of Berosus, the Babylonian priest and historian, which have been quoted by some Greek writers, it appears that Babylonia was in very ancient times ruled by eight Median Kings who bore the name of Zoroaster.\* Gutschmidt has shown that this period of their rule must have been between B.C. 2458 and B.C. 2234,† but it is possible the period may have been somewhat earlier. We find no allusion to this rule in the Babylonian tablets and inscriptions hitherto deciphered, but we shall see here-

\* It is possible that they called themselves Zarthustrish, which in the Avesta language means "a follower of Zoroaster." This word transliterated into Greek becomes Zoroastres, the same as the name Zoroaster itself, which was so pronounced owing to the propensity of the Greeks to add to names the suffix *s*, or *s* preceded by a vowel. There seems to have thus originated the misconception about the eight Kings all named Zoroaster.

† Rawlinson's "Five Great Monarchies," vol. i.

after what confirmatory evidence of it can be evolved from recent Babylonian researches.

The German scholar Benfey, in a work called "Monats Namen," published many years ago, was the first to show that most of the names of the Jewish months are derivable from those of the Iranian—*i.e.*, Zoroastrian—months, and that the order of names in the former is the same as in the latter. It was not then known that the Jewish months were identically the same as those of the Babylonian calendar which had been in use since the time of Hammurabi\*—*i.e.*, since *circa* 2300 B.C.

Benfey's remarks, therefore, apply equally to the Babylonian months, and tend to confirm the existence of a Zoroastrian sway over Babylonia some time before B.C. 2300. A summary of his theory is reproduced here in a tabulated form for the convenience of the reader :

Babylonian Months.	Corresponding Iranian Months.	Derivation.
1. Nisân ... ..	Dathushô or Dae ...	Avesta <i>Naba-azana</i> = New (Year's) Day.
2. Iyar ... ..	Vohumano or Behman.	A corrupted form of the first syllable <i>spenta</i> of the Iranian month.
3. Sivan ... ..	Spenta-Ârmaiti or Aspendâd	
4. Tammuz ... ..	Fravashinâm or Farvardin.	
5. Ab ... ..	Ashavahishta or Ardibehsht.	A corrupted form of <i>Haurvat</i> .
6. Elul ... ..	Haurvatât or Khordâd	
7. Tishri ... ..	Tishtriya or Tîr ...	A contracted form of <i>Tishrtiya</i> .
8. March-eshvan ...	Ameretât or Amerdâd	The first syllable is a derivative of <i>Ameretât</i> .
9. Kislev ... ..	Khshathravairya or Shehrivar	A contracted form of the Iranian name.
10. Tebat ... ..	Mithra or Mehr.	The identical form as the Iranian <i>Adar</i> .
11. Shebat ... ..	Apâm or Âbân.	
12. Adar ... ..	Âtrô, Âtar, or Âdar ...	

\* *Vide* "Civilization of the East," by Dr. Fritz Hommel. The Babylonian-Akkadi names of the months were different.

In the Iranian months we notice the names of the celestial beings worshipped by the Zoroastrians. That these names were not given haphazard, but were based on physical phenomena, has been shown by the present writer in an essay on "The Order of the Parsee Months and the Basis of their Nomenclature," in the "K. R. Cama Memorial Volume,"\* from which a few extracts are reproduced here, with some additions and alterations.

**DATHUSHO or DAE.**—This month, named after the Creator, was the first month of spring, and marked the revival (or new creation) of Nature.

**VOHUMANO (*Behman*).**—Named after the archangel having the special care of cattle; this was the month of mid-spring. Plentiful flow of milk in cows† was the special feature of this month, and in this respect it was analogous to the *Tri-milchi* (May) of the old Saxons.

**SPENTA-ÂRMAITI (*Aspendârmad*).**—Named after the guardian angel of land; this month marked the growth of flowers, herbs and corn. A similarly-named month of later times was the Prairial of the French Republican calendar.

**FRAVASHINÂM (*Farvardin*).**—This was the month dedicated to the spirits of the ancestors. It began on or about the summer solstice, which was the period dedicated to the festival of the dead by various other nations of antiquity. The month ran parallel to *Thôt* of the Egyptians and *Tammuz* of the Semites.

**ASHAVAHISHTA (*Ardibehshta*).**—Named after the Ameshâ-spenta presiding over heat. This month was the hottest part of the year, being the second month of summer, and co-extensive with the dog-days, with the *Garmapada* of the

\* Published in Bombay, 1901.

† Owing to this being the calving season. My theory about this month receives confirmation from the name of the Babylonian second month Iyar. Professor Jastrow, speaking of this month, says, in his "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria," p. 464, footnote: "Iyar is described by a series of ideographs—'herd' and 'to prosper.' Is there, perhaps, a reference to cows giving birth to calves in this month, the early spring?"

cuneiform inscriptions of Darius, and with the Thermidor of the French Republican Calendar.

HAURVATÂT (*Khordâd*).—Named after the Lord of the Waters and of the Clouds. This was the month in which, for the most part, the sky was overcast as a result of the evaporation which had been most energetic in the previous month.

TISTRIYA (*Tir*).—Named after the star *Tishtriya*, or Sirius, who was regarded as the Bringer of Rain. This was the month in which the rains set in, and which commenced with the autumnal equinox. In very remote ages the acronycal rising of Sirius marked the advent of the rainy season.

AMERETÂT (*Amerdâd*).—Abundant growth of vegetation due to the downfall of the previous month characterized this month, which was consequently named after the Lord of Vegetation.

KHSHATHRAVAIRYA (*Shehrivar*).—A satisfactory explanation of why this name was given to the ninth month from the vernal equinox has not yet been discovered.

MITHRA (*Mehr*).—*Mithra* means "increasing daylight." The month named after this angel was the first month of winter, and commenced at the winter solstice, from which point the days begin to increase in length.\*

APAM (*Âvân*).—Literally, "The Waters." But this name is generally coupled with that of Ardavisûr, the female *yazata* presiding over rivers and on purification. In the latter character she is analogous to Februa, the Goddess of Purification,† the month dedicated to whom was February, which ran parallel to this month.

\* When Mithraic worship was introduced into Rome, the festival of the new Sun-god, which was known as "Dies Natalis Solis Invictis," was celebrated on the winter solstice day—*i.e.*, on December 25 (Old Style).

† The Purification Day of the Romans fell on February 2. If we take December 25 as corresponding to the first day of the month Mehr, February 2 would correspond to the tenth day of Âvân, the festival day of the Iranian goddess. In like manner a little backward calculation will show that the seventh day of Amerdâd, the festival day of the archangel

ÂTRO (*Adar*).—Âtro is fire, and the last month of winter was so named owing to the thaw taking place, and consequently, the weather being very chilly and moist, necessitating fires being kept burning in various parts of the house.

From the basis underlying the nomenclature of the Iranian months, as explained above, it is evident that they are not of foreign origin, but of indigenous growth; and, since many of them can be recognised in the Babylonian calendar dating from the twenty-fourth century B.C., it clearly follows that the latter nation is indebted to the former in this respect, and that the borrowing must have taken place at the time of the Zoroastrian rule in Babylonia in the twenty-fifth century B.C. Additional details about some of the Babylonian months will be given further on.

We now proceed to examine the evidence furnished by the Babylonian tablets concerning the Pantheon, the festivals, the religious rites, and the legends of the Babylonians.

It would not be out of place to give here, for the benefit of those readers of this *Review* who are not acquainted with Assyriological researches, a short account\* of how these tablets were discovered and what they treat of.

In the year 1842 Monsieur Botta, the French Consul at Mosul, while making excavations of certain mounds near Khorsabad, unearthed the remains of an Assyrian palace. The sculptures and monuments that he came across, most of them inscribed with cuneiform characters, he sent to the Louvre Museum. The importance of the valuable finds induced the authorities of the British Museum to start

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presiding over vegetation and fruits, corresponds with November 1, on which was celebrated the Roman Festival of Pomona, sacred to the Goddess of Fruits and Gardens.

\* Summarized from Professor Jastrow's work cited above.

excavations on their own account. Their representative, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Austen Henry Layard, commenced operations first at Mount Nimrud, and then at Mount Koyunjik, and during the years 1845 to 1850 he was successful in bringing to light the remains of other palaces. But the most valuable of his finds was a library of the Assyrian King Asshur-bani-pal. This consisted of clay tablets inscribed all over with cuneiform characters, and treating of various subjects, such as astronomy, mathematics, history, epics, legends, hymns, incantations, etc., some of the last two being in the old Akkadian language, with Semitic translations. A stimulus was given to further research by these discoveries, and in 1887 the Americans also joined the English and the French. The efforts of the representatives of these nations were crowned with success, and many important discoveries were and are still being made. It is worthy of note that the key to the decipherment of the Shemitic cuneiform characters was furnished by the trilingual\* inscriptions of Darius Hystapes on the Behistun Rock. The first successful attempt to decipher the Achæmenian or old Persian inscriptions of Darius was made in 1802, by Grotefend,† and by 1840 the decipherment of these inscriptions was practically complete. The ninety proper names in the first columns (*i.e.*, of the old Persian inscription) greatly facilitated the decipherment of the inscriptions in the third column—*i.e.*, the one in the Shemitic-Babylonian characters. Since then the science of decipherment has advanced by rapid strides; various scholars of note have devoted their attention to it, and now there is hardly any Babylonian inscription that cannot be read and understood, although there might be differ-

\* *I.e.*, the Achæmenian (Old Persian), Susian (or Proto-Median), and Babylonian languages.

† He proceeded on the assumption that certain groups of letters frequently recurring must be the name and titles of a King, and the first line that he deciphered was "Adam Daryavush Kshayâthiya vazarka Kshayathiya Kshâyathiyânâm"—"I am Darius the Great King, the King of Kings."

ences of opinion regarding the pronunciation\* of certain proper names.

We now know that the earliest settlers in Babylonia were a Turanian nation, who spoke an agglutinative language now called Akkadian or Shumerian, and that they were followed by the Semites, who intermingled with them and adopted their religion, so much so that after a time the language used by the combined nation for the ordinary purposes of life was the Semitic language, but the one used in the religious chants and hymns was the Turanian.

The ancient Greek writers have thrown some light on the religion of Babylonia ; but what we know from these sources is very little compared with what can be gathered from the inscriptions. The full details now to hand regarding the names and attributes of the gods worshipped in Babylonia points, as will be presently shown, towards ancient Iran as the birthplace of some of these deities. In support of this view an exposition will first be made of the points of similarity between the religious ideas of the two nations concerning the functions and attributes of their gods and the celebration of their sacred rites and festivals ; proofs will then be adduced to show in what respects the Babylonians have borrowed from the Zoroastrians ; and finally an attempt will be made to indicate the age in which this transplantation of ideas could have taken place. This will enable us to determine the hithermost limit of the age of Zoroaster.

In the Babylonian Pantheon the gods are not all of one age ; we see traces of new gods having been introduced at different times. For our present purpose the classification followed will be, with some slight modifications, the one

\* The inscriptions are not all in the same kind of characters ; in the oldest the form used is hieroglyphic, then comes the ideographic, and lastly a combination in which the ideograms or their phonetic equivalents are used with syllabic signs. Though the sense conveyed by an ideogram is clear, it is difficult to give the proper pronunciation of it when there are two or more words in the language for expressing the same idea.

given in Professor Jastrow's excellent book on "The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria," viz. : (1) The gods prior to the days of Hammurabi—*i.e.*, before B.C. 2300 ; (2) new gods appearing in the historical inscriptions from the time of Hammurabi and his successors ; and (3) new gods appearing from the time of the Assyrian Empire.

#### GODS PRIOR TO THE DAYS OF HAMMURABI.

Among these the following are of special note :

HEA.—Called also Ea and Yav. He was god of the Waters and of Health. As a water-god he was also the giver of fertility and plenty.\* He was a god of the physicians, and it was he that was chiefly invoked in the incantations for curing all sorts of diseases. The earliest inscription in which his name occurs is that of Ur-Bâu (*circa* 2800 B.C.). The name Hea is composed of two elements that signify "house" and "water."†

The corresponding *Ameshâspenta* (archangel) of the Zoroastrians is *Haurvatât* (or *Khordâd*), who presides over waters. *Haurvatât* means *health*, as well as *abundance* and *plenty*.

In Yashts II. and IV., and in the Sirozahs, wherever there is a mention of this Ameshâspenta, we find mentioned in the same breath the *yâiriyâmcha hushitoyish*, or "the yearly good dwelling."‡ *Haurvatât* is also met with in the contracted form *Haurvat*, in the Avesta, and *Hea* or *Yav* is possibly a further contraction of this. Additional points of similarity between these two gods, the Babylonian and the Zoroastrian, will be brought forward in the section treating of Marduk.

BAU.—Also read "Bagash." She was the goddess "who fixed the destinies of men and provided abundance for the tillers of the soil." Her worship was much prevalent in the days of Gudea (*circa* 3000 B.C.). Her festival had assumed

\* Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

† *Ibid.*, p. 64.

‡ The meaning according to Spiegel.

such importance as to serve for reckoning the commencement of the year, which took place in the beginning of spring, on the first day of Nisan, and it was known as the *zag-muku*—i.e., the New Year's Day.

The Avesta name corresponding to this is *Bagha*. *Bâu*, *Bagha*, and *Bangha* are philologically the transformations of one and the same word; for instance, a name *Averethra-bangha* occurring in *Yasht XIII.* 106 becomes *Avarethra-bâu* in the *Dinkard*.

*Bagha*, in the Avesta language, has several meanings: (1) A portion; (2) luck, fortune; (3) Divine power, distributor, one who apportions (destiny). In the last sense it is used in *Yasht VII.* 5. In the cuneiform inscriptions of *Darius Hystapes* the words *Bagha vazarka* (Great Deity) frequently occur as an epithet of *Ahuramazda*. Again, in the names of certain months given in the same inscriptions we come across the name *Bagha-yâdaish*—i.e., consecrated to *Bagha*—which corresponded to Nisan,\* the first month of spring, or the month in which *zag-muku*, the festival of *Bâu*, was celebrated in *Babylonia*.

The only difference between *Bagha* of the Avesta and *Bâu* of the Babylonians is that the former is a male deity, and the latter a female. In the Hindu mythology the same name occurs as *Bagha*, which was originally a noun of the feminine gender; but later the appellation was given to a male deity, as we see in the *Rig Veda* (*VII.* 41, 42,) where

\* According to Sir H. Rawlinson and Max Duncker. Oppert and Justi, however, regard it as a parallel month to Tishri. But no doubt the former view is correct, for the undermentioned evidence goes to prove that *Baghayâdaish* was the first month of spring. *Darius* tells us in his inscriptions that *Gaumata* the Magian seized the empire in the month of *Garmapada*, but that after a few months' reign he was slain by him in the month *Baghayâdaish*. That this interval was eight months we learn from another source—*Herodotus*. *Garmapada* (=the path of heat), the hottest month of the year, is held by almost all Oriental scholars to have coincided with the fifth month *Ab* of the Babylonians—the same period that in much later times was co-extensive with the *Thermidor* of the French Republican calendar. The eighth month after *Ab* is *Nisan*, with which, therefore, *Baghayâdaish* coincides.

mention is made of "the strong Bhaga, the son of Aditi, who disposes all things."

SHAMAS OR UTU.—The Sun.

Solar worship cannot be said to have originated with any particular nation—it is common to all; but there is scope for comparison in some of the attributes given to the solar deity that are not apparent or universal, but are restricted to a few nations.

The favourite title of Shamas in the hymns is that of "Judge." In one of the hymns addressed to him he is called "the Judge of the world, the Director of its laws," and also the "Warrior-hero."\* With respect to these functions, Shamas can be compared to the Avastaic *Mithra*, originally the *Companion* of the Sun, but in later times (from the Achæmenian Dynasty downwards) confounded with the solar god himself. *Mithra* is commonly called *Dâvar*, or the "Judge," one of his functions being to judge the souls of men on the fourth morning after death. In Yasht X., *Mithra* is depicted as a warrior *par excellence*.

*Utu*, another name of Shamas, is derived from *atu* = "to see."† In this connection it is interesting to note that one of the titles of *Mithra* is *baivaré-chasmano*—i.e., "possessing ten thousand eyes." Again, the sun himself is called the "eye of Ahuramazda" in Yasna I.

Some of the other attributes of Shamas are as under, summarized from Professor Jastrow's book.‡

Shamas is the god that gives light and life to all things; upon his favour the prosperity of the fields and the well-being of men depend. His favour produces order and stability; his wrath brings discomfiture and ruin to the State and the individual. He receives the supplications of men, loosens the bonds of the imprisoned, grants health to the sick, and even revivifies the dead. He puts an end to wickedness and destroys enemies. He makes the weak strong and prevents the strong from crushing the weak.

\* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of Babylonia, p. 573.

† Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

‡ Pp. 71, 300, 301.

He cleanses men by taking out whatever is evil within them.

All the above attributes are also met with in Mithra, as can be seen from Yasht X. "Mithra is the lord of wide pastures; he has boons to give at his will, and the tiller of the ground he guards against oppression" (Yt. X. 80). "He is the foe of the liar and the unrighteous. He is the all-seeing and the undeceivable, the preserver of oaths and good faith. To him with whom Mithra has been satisfied he comes with help, and of him with whom Mithra has been offended he crushes down the house, the borough, the town, the province, the country" (Yt. X. 87). "He takes out of distress the man who has not lied unto him—nay, he takes him out of death" (Yt. X. 22). "He is a keeper and protector of the dwellings of those who lie not" (Yt. X. 80). "Him the poor man who follows the good law, when wronged and deprived of his rights, invokes for help with hands uplifted" (Yt. X. 84). "He listens to appeals, and in him is placed the decision for the good law" (Yt. X. 61, 64). "He is the right lord and master of the world, and the best cleanser of the creatures (of the world); and he is the giver of health" (Yt. X. 5, 92).

An additional point of comparison between the Babylonian and the Iranian god will be noticed in the sections treating of Ramman.

NANNAR OR SIN.—The Moon-god.

The worship of the moon is also common to all nations, but some of the functions and attributes of the lunar god that are peculiar to Babylonia and Iran are worth noting.

In an inscription of Ur-Bâu (*circa* 2800 B.C.) the moon is called "the powerful Bull of Anu." In the Avesta literature he is called Gô-chithra—*i.e.*, "Keeper of the seed of the Bull."

In a hymn to Nannar\* we find the Moon-god addressed as the Lord of Increase, granting water, establishing dwellings, and granting gifts; one at whose command

\* Jastrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 308.

nourishment streams forth, vegetation sprouts forth, and life is increased. The Moon-god of the Iranians possesses similar attributes. In Yasht VII., he is called prosperity-giving, water-giving, weal-giving, the liberal, the healing, and the one that causes the plants to grow.

NIN-SHAKH\* AND NIN-IB.—Ninshakh—*i.e.*, the Lord of the Wild Boar—was the Babylonian god of War. His name is suggestive of the fierceness and courage of which the animal is the type. As a warrior he was at times identified with Nin-ib, the Assyrian god of Battle and Victory, who was worshipped under the form of a winged bull. The characteristics of these gods meet in the Iranian Yazata *Verethraghna*, whose name signifies "victorious, smiter of the enemy." In Yasht X. 70, we see that, when Mithra goes to battle, in front of him marches Verethraghna in the form of a boar, wrathful, strong-bodied and sharp-tusked. From Yasht XIV. it appears that Verethraghna, when invoked by men in battle, goes to their assistance in various forms, among which are the form of a boar and that of a bull.

The worship of Ninshakh must have been older than B.C. 2300, for about that time was repaired an old temple of this deity by Rimsin of Larsa.

LUGAL-ERIMA.—Lugal means "King," but the meaning of Erima has not been definitely ascertained. Very little is known about the god whose name appears in the inscriptions of Ur-Bâu (*circa* 2800 B.C.). Erima seems to be an abbreviation of *Airyaman* of the Avesta.

ISHTAR.—This was the most renowned and widely worshipped of the Babylonian goddesses, and her worship dated from very remote times. Gradually many other goddesses, originally distinct, were amalgamated with her. Later she was worshipped also as the planet Venus. Her chief attribute was that of the goddess of Beauty and of Love. She was denominated "the brilliant goddess," "the mother of countries," and "the mistress of mountains."

\* This is a provisional reading, as the name is written in ideograms.

She was invoked by marriageable girls for granting them suitable husbands and by men for the gifts of domestic prosperity. In course of time her cult became tainted with gross immorality.

The word "Ishtar" is not Semitic neither Turanian, and Assyriologists are not agreed as to its root. Says Professor Sayce : \* " Babylonians of the historical age do not seem to have known what was its origin, and it is therefore quite useless for us to speculate on the subject. Its true etymology is buried in the night of antiquity."

Professor Jastrow is of opinion that the word is Semitic, and suggests a tentative meaning : " The goddess that brings blessing (to mankind)."<sup>†</sup> But if the word is Semitic, it is very strange that it does not bear the feminine suffix *t*, as we see in the names of other goddesses—Belit, Anat, Sarpanit, etc. The *t* suffix was added afterwards, "when the name travelled further to the West, away from its old associations with Chaldea . . . and Ishtar was transformed into Ashtoreth and Astarte."<sup>‡</sup>

The Avesta language, however, supplies a key to the problem that has so puzzled the scholars. The root of the word as well as the above-mentioned functions of the goddess Ishtar are to be seen in the Avesta word *Ashi* (= blessing), and in the Iranian female *yazata* of that name. Ishtar is probably a transformation of *Ashi-srîra*, "the beautiful Ashi," although her usual title is *Ashi-Vanghuhi*, "the good Ashi." She is the goddess of Fortune and Wealth, and in Yasht XVI. she is described as the "defender of matrimony," and the foe of those who keep a maiden by force from marriage. She is beautiful and radiant, and to maidens she grants the beauty with which they please their husbands.

According to Jensen, Ishtar corresponds with the Ellamitic deity Vashti.§

\* Sayce, Hibbert Lecture, p. 260.

† Professor Jastrow, "Religion of Babylonia," p. 32, footnote.

‡ Sayce, *op. cit.*, p. 253. § Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 686, footnote.

Vashti is also an Iranian name. From the Book of Esther (which is the Hebrew form of Ishtar), we see that Vashti is the name of the Queen of Ahasuerus, the Persian King. In the Avesta language *Vashti* means "desired." In Yasht XVII. 15, *Vasatha Khshayamna*—i.e., "sovereign at will"—is the appellation of ASHI.

In the Babylonian inscriptions from the time of Hammurabi downward, and in the Assyrian, Ishtar also figures as the goddess of Battle and War. In ASHI, too, this trait is to be met with, for she is described as "strong, provided with many warriors, bold."\*

There is mention of Ishtar in the inscriptions of a very ancient King—Sargon of Agadé (B.C. 3800)—and no doubt her worship was older still.

DUMUZI.—Subsequently better known as *Tammuz*. Dumu-zi means "the child of life." He was a solar deity, and at the same time a patron of agriculture and a god of the nether world. There was an annual mourning for him in Babylon in the fourth month, *Tammuz*, which was sacred to him.

A corresponding Iranian deity is the Yazata Dahm, or *Dâmi-upamana*, which word can be translated "the symbol of creation."† In Yasht X. 9, 66, and in Yasht XIII. 47, he is mentioned as the companion of Mithra, which explains the solar aspect of the Babylonian god. His connection with the world of the dead can be seen from Yashts X. 66, XIII. 47, Yasna LXXI. 23, and the Sirozah, where he is invoked along with the *fravashis* (*manes*) of the good.

A further mention of Tammuz will be made in the section treating of the festivals.

NERGAL.—This god in his main characteristics resembles *Sraosha* of the Avesta. It is true there is no similarity in the pronunciation of the two names, but, then, it should be borne in mind that Nergal is written ideographically,

\* Yasht XVII. 1.

† Some scholars translate "the cursing thought of the wise," but the above meaning is the better one.

and it is possible that another way of pronouncing the name may be hit upon hereafter, which will be more akin to the Avesta name.

With Nergal has been identified a god Lugal-Banda. The latter is another name of Nergal, as can be seen from the fact that, while in the inscriptions of Sin-gashid, of the dynasty of Uruk, mention is made of Lugal-Banda in the list of the gods worshipped by him, we find that another King of the same dynasty, Sin-gamil, places the name of Nergal exactly where his predecessor mentions Lugal-Banda.\*

The meanings of the two names are also nearly identical :

Lugal-Banda	= Strong King.
Ner-gal	= Great Lord.

The ideogram Lugal (= King) can also be read as *Sarru*, which in the Babylonian Semitic language has the same meaning ; and the ideogram "banda" can also be read as *us*, which in the Babylonian Akkadian language means "great, powerful." So the phonetic equivalent of the two ideograms is *Sarru-us*, which comes very near to the Avesta word SRAOSHA. It is true that in the reading suggested here both Semitic and Akkadian languages are made use of, but as, after the settlement of the Semites in Babylonia, the language for ordinary use was Semitic, with a fairly good sprinkling of Akkadian words, such a combination is rendered possible.

Even if the suggested reading stand not the test of philology, the identification that is sought to be established between Nergal and Sraosha will not be affected thereby, as it is based not merely on phonetic equivalents of names, but on the close resemblance between the functions of the gods, as will be presently shown.

Nergal was the ruler of the nether world, and had command over all demons and evil spirits. He was also a god of war, and as such, and in connection with his destructive powers, he was frequently described as "the god of fire,"

\* Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

"the raging king," "the violent one," "the one who burns." One of the most common ideographs used to express his name was that signifying the "sword."\* His typical bird was the cock, the bird of dawn, at whose warning crow the evil spirits were supposed to vanish.† Nergal and Nin-ib were invoked by the Assyrians for success on the battlefield and on the hunting-ground. Both of them were also sculptured on Assyrian palaces, the former in his symbolic form of the winged lion, and the latter in that of the winged bull, and they were supposed to keep guard over the King.

Just as Nergal is the ruler of the lower world, Sraosha is the guardian of the souls of the dead. For three days and three nights he watches over and protects the soul that has just quitted its earthly tenement. Then he hands over his charge to Verethraghna (compared above with Nin-ib), who conducts it to the *Chinvat* bridge.‡ Sraosha and Verethraghna are also associated with each other in another way: along with fire they are the co-operators of *Asha-vahishta*, the Ameshâspenta of Heat. This accounts for the epithets given to Nergal, "the burning one" and "the god of fire."

Sraosha is pre-eminently the smiter of the *daevas* and the demons; "he bows not for fear and fright before the *daevas*: before him all the *daevas* bow for fear and fright reluctantly, and rush away to darkness."§

Sraosha is also a god of battle. He is called the "strong armed warrior," and he is invoked for strength to subdue tormentors and to destroy foes.|| He is very frequently called *Darshi-draosh*—i.e., the mighty-weaponed. That his favourite weapon is the *sword*, as in the case of Nergal, appears from the following description of it: "The uplifted weapon," "the broad weapon," "the sharp and cutting

\* Jastrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 183.

† Gerald Massey, "A Book of the Beginnings," vol. ii., p. 469.

‡ Mino-Kherad, ii. 115.

§ Yasht XI. 13.

|| Yasna LVI. 26, 33.

weapon forcefully smiting on the head."\* The cock is the typical bird of Sraosha,† as it is of Nergal.

The above points of comparison sufficiently show that Nergal is Sraosha, but the worship of the former seems to have gradually deteriorated, and the god, from being originally a guardian of the souls, seems to have been transformed into a ruler of the nether world, and even into a god of pestilence.

Mention is made of a temple of Nergal in the inscriptions of Dungi (*circa* 2900 B.C.), and therefore the worship of the god dates from an earlier period still.

ADAR.—Whether this is the correct pronunciation of the name of the god seems to have been a matter of doubt with some scholars, for the word cannot be traced to either Turanian or Semitic sources. The name appears as Nin-dara in the inscriptions of Gudea and Ur-Bâu (*circa* 3000 B.C.). The god was held in estimation as the son and messenger of Bel (one of the principal deities of the Babylonians), and as the warrior and champion of the gods. He was also identified with the meridian sun.

Adar is the same name as the Iranian *Âtar* or *Âdar*, the angel presiding over fire. Adar is the son of Ahuramazda, and a co-operator of the Ameshâspenta Ashavahistha, who presides over the time of mid-day.

GISH-ZIDA.—This name appears in the list of Gudea (*circa* 3000 B.C.), and is similar to the Iranian *Geûsh-urvan*, "the soul of the bull," one of the *yazatas*. The word "zida," in the Babylonian language, means "life"; the first word *Gish* seems to be a contraction of the Iranian *Geûsh*. There are no further points of resemblance between the two gods beyond this.

ISHUM.—A god of the nether regions. He was a very malignant being, and was an attendant of the plague god Dibarra. The corresponding Avesta name, from which the above seems to have been derived, is *Aeshma*, the name of the demon of wrath.

\* Yasht XI. 11; Yasna LVI. 10, 31. † Vendidad XVIII. 23.

We now proceed to the second classification of the Babylonian gods, and take in hand those of them that appear in the historical inscriptions for the first time, from the time of Hammurabi—*i.e.*, from about 2300 B.C. Among these the most prominent was :

MARDUK, the son of Hea. The principal seat of his worship was Babylon, and among the gods worshipped there he held the foremost place, second, perhaps, to that of his father alone.

The old great god Bel was now forgotten, and his individuality merged into that of the new god, who was consequently addressed as Bel Marduk.

From the hymns and the magical texts, we see that Marduk was regarded as the mediator between Hea and mankind. The man smitten with disease or otherwise in trouble appealed for help to Marduk, who promptly brought the petition to his father Hea. The latter gave Marduk the necessary instructions, which in turn were conveyed to the person crying for divine succour.\* Marduk was also the bestower of blessings, and in connection with this function he was named *Silik-mulu-khi*, which means "he who distributes good amongst men."†

In one of the hymns he is also addressed as the "merciful lord who loves to raise the dead to life."‡

Some scholars are of opinion that he was a solar deity originally, though his qualities as such are not mentioned in any of the inscriptions.

The etymology of the name Marduk has not been hitherto satisfactorily traced, but a reference to the Avesta solves the difficulty. Marduk is the same name as the Avesta *Ameretât*, of which a later form is *Amerdâd*, and modern Persian *Murdâd*. The change of the final *d* or *t* into *k* is very common, and is well known to all philologists. For instance, the Avesta word "*Spenta-mainyu*" becomes

\* Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

† Lenormant, "Chaldean Magic," p. 190.

‡ Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 106; Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 116, footnote.

"Spinaž-minô" in Pahlavi. Other pronunciations of Marduk, as given by Lenormant,\* are "Amrud" and "Amarutuki," both of which are directly derivable from *Ameretât*.

Ameretât, in the Avesta language, means "immortality," which is the origin of Marduk's function as the restorer of the dead to life. Again, in Yasht II. and in the Sirozah, we see that this Ameshâspenta presides over the prosperity of the herds and over the increase of cattle, which accounts for Marduk's rôle as a bestower of blessings.

Haurvatât (who has been identified above with Hea) and Ameretât are twin Ameshâspentas in the Avesta; they are always named together, and form an inseparable couple. So in the Babylonian phase of worship we see the relationship of father and son between Hea and Marduk.

Marduk's identification as a solar deity, and his functions as a mediator, must have been ideas of a later growth—at a time when some of the attributes of *Mithra* became blended with those of Marduk.

An additional proof of the identity of Marduk and Ameretât is given further on, in the portion dealing with the months and festivals.

RAMMAN.—He was the god of storms, of thunder and lightning, of wind and rain, of overflow and inundation, and his "powerful roar" struck terror into the hearts of men. He was also a constant associate of the Sun-god Shamas, jointly with whom he is frequently mentioned in the Babylonian texts. In a hymn of Hammurabi's days it is significant that, while each of the other gods mentioned receives a line for himself, Ramman is the only one who is tacked on to another deity, Shamas.† He was one of the chief gods, not only of the Babylonians, but of the Assyrians, who assigned to him a position next to that of Asshur alone. In Assyria his worship dated from very ancient times, as is evinced by his name appearing as one of the elements in the name of the Assyrian ruler Samsi-Ramman, who

\* "Chaldean Magic," pp. 10, 32.

† Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

flourished about 1850 B.C. Another rôle of Ramman was that of a god of war, and he is addressed as such in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar.

Ramman is none but the Avesta *Râman*, the angel presiding over the atmosphere. Just as the Babylonian god is an associate of Shamas, so is Ramman the associate of Mithra. The two are frequently mentioned together in the Avesta.

In Yasht XV., dedicated to this *yazata*, every chapter commences with the words *yazâi apâmcha baghemcha*—"we sacrifice to the waters and to the distributors of the same," which explains the rôle of Ramman as the god of rains and of the overflow. In the same Yasht (passages 46, 47), the *yazata* calls himself "the valiant, the strong, the strong for protection, the freeing from troubles, and the *roarer*." His characteristics as a war-god appear from passage 51 of the same Yasht, where Râman promises to come to the aid of those who, wounded in battle, invoke him and pray to him for strength.

SARPANITUM.—She was the goddess of Matrimonial Fertility, and was also identified with an older 'Akkadian divinity Gasmu (= "the wise one").\* The name seems to have been a transformation of the Avesta *Spenta-Armaiti*, the female Ameshâspenta presiding over the earth. Spenta means "bountiful," and Armaiti, both in Avesta and Sanscrit, means "wisdom." That the Babylonian goddess is identical with the Iranian will be seen further on in the portion dealing with the festivals. Her rôle as a goddess of matrimonial fertility must have been a secondary one, a development of her original character of the goddess of Agricultural Prosperity—the bountiful Mother Earth.

NABU.—A very popular god with the Babylonians as well as the Assyrians. He was the god of Wisdom and Intelligence, and of the Art of Writing, from which cause he was frequently invoked by the scribes. Professor Sayce and other scholars are of opinion that he was originally a water-

\* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. III.

deity. In religious and historical texts he is lauded as the deity who opens up the subterranean sources in order to irrigate the fields. He was also regarded as the patron of agriculture and the one who caused corn to sprout forth. Some of his other epithets were: "the upholder of the world," "the general overseer," "the proclaimer," and "the herald of the gods." In his last-mentioned character he was often amalgamated with a fire-god—Nusku. The sceptre and the stylus were his emblems.

The corresponding Avesta deity is *Apâm-napât*—"the navel of the waters." The second half of this name contracted becomes Nabu.

According to Yasht VIII. 34, *Apâm-napât* spreads over the corporeal world the waters which are to be distributed to the fields.\*

In Yasht XIX. 52 we see him described as the god who "helps one at his appeal," "whose ear is the quickest to hear when he is worshipped," and the god "who made man, who shaped man"—epithets which are very similar to those of Nabu as the general overseer and upholder of the world.

Dr. Geiger believes that the Iranian deity represents the lightning which dwells in the clouds. This aspect of *Apâm-napât* might explain why Nabu was called a proclaimer, for lightning is a proclaimer of the rain-storm.

*Apâm-napât* is frequently invoked with the fire-*yazata* *Nairyo-Sangha*, and there is an intimate connection between them, just as there is between Nabu and Nusku.

NUSKU.—A fire-god who, though appearing in the historical inscriptions from the time of the Assyrian rule only, was well known in the time of Hammurabi, as can be seen from the religious texts. The Babylonians regarded him as the messenger of their principal deity, Bel-Marduk, but in the Assyrian period his function had developed into that of a messenger of the gods in general. He was, on the one hand, amalgamated with Gibil, the fire-god, and

\* The word for "fields" is *shoithra*, which can also be translated "countries" or "cities."

on the other identified with Nabu. The compound ideograms with which his name is written include the same sign—the stylus or sceptre—that is used to designate Nabu.\* It seems Gibil and Nusku were originally worshipped as fire-gods in different places, and were amalgamated as the Babylonian Empire grew in extent.

In an Assyrian inscription of Asshur-bani-pal, Nusku is described as “the one who glorifies sovereignty.”

Nusku is an abridged and corrupted form of the Avesta *Nairyo-Sangha*, the name of the messenger of Ahura-Mazda. The Iranian deity is described in the Âtash Niyâyesh as “the one who dwells in the navel of Kings,” which tallies with the Assyrian monarch’s description of Nusku.

In Yasna LXXI. and in other passages we find him frequently associated with Apâm-napât (as we see in the case of Nabu and Nusku). This is easily accounted for on the supposition that Apâm-napât, though a water deity, is also in his character of lightning a fire-god.

The presence of Nasku was indispensable in the temples when sacrificial gifts were offered to the gods, or any religious ceremony performed. The idea underlying this was the belief that the sacrifice consumed by the fire was conveyed to the gods in the form of the ascending smoke. Hence the fire-god becomes the messenger between the gods and men. The same idea is traceable in the functions of *Nairyo-Sangha* of the Iranians and *Agni* of the Hindus.

The sceptre as the symbol of both Nabu and Nusku has also its origin in the Iranian myths. The sceptre is the materialized form of the *khareno*, or glory, so frequently described in the Avesta.

In Yasht XIX. there is mention of the *akharetem khareno* or the “imperishable glory” belonging to the pious, for obtaining possession of which there is a struggle between the forces of the good spirit and the evil spirit, whereupon the glory swells up and rushes into the sea Vouru-Kasha. Here it is at once seized by Apâm-napât, who is therefore

\* Jastrow, “Religion of Babylonia and Assyria,” p. 220.

the possessor and preserver of the imperishable glory, symbolized by the sceptre of Nabu.

Another kind of glory, called the *kavaem khareno*, or the "kingly glory," is preserved by the angel of fire, as appears from the frequent allusions to it in the Âtash Niyâyesh. Nusku, the Babylonian fire-god, is therefore represented with a sceptre.

We now come to the gods peculiar to the Assyrian Pantheon. Amongst these the foremost place is held by—

ASSHUR.—He was the supreme god of the Assyrians, and not only were his statues placed in the temples, but his form was also represented on the military standard to insure his presence with the army wherever it went. The standard consisted of a pole surrounded by a disc enclosed within two wings, while above the disc stood the figure of a warrior in the act of shooting an arrow. This emblem of Asshur was represented in Assyrian sculptures, on the palace walls, porticos, and prominent places; and with some slight modifications it seems to have been copied in the Achæmenian sculptures.\*

Regarding the root of the word "Asshur," Professor Sayce observes as follows: "The name of Assur is frequently represented by a character which, among other ideographic values, had that of 'good.' The name was accordingly explained by the Assyrians of the later historical age as 'the good god,' with a reference, perhaps, to their own words *asiru*=righteous, and *asirtu*=righteousness."†

\* By the Iranians the emblem was held to be a representation of the Fravashi, or guardian spirit dwelling jointly with the soul in the human body. It may be that the emblem *was originally Iranian*, and subsequently imported into Assyria, whence it returned to the land of its birth under the Achæmenian rule. The idea of representing Fravashis with wings was a very old one—very much older than the Achæmenian period, as can be seen from a passage in the Farvardin Yasht (Yasht XIII. 70): "The awful Fravashis of the faithful come flying unto him for succour; it seems as if they were well-winged birds."

† Hibbert Lectures, p. 124.

I believe, however, that the derivation of Asshur, too, should be sought for in the Avesta language. The Semitic words *asiru* and *asirtu* have in them the Avesta root *asha* = righteousness.

Either Asshur might be another form of the Avesta *Ahura*, the supreme Zoroastrian god (whose name appears in the Rig Veda as Asura), or perhaps Asshur has two component parts: *Asha*—i.e., righteousness, the name of the third Ameshâspenta—and *Ahura*, which combination we see in the name *Ashâhura*, occurring in Yasht XIII. 113.

SHARRU-ILU AND SHERUA.—Assyriologists are of opinion that both are foreign gods. Very little information about them is to be obtained from the inscriptions. The first name has been interpreted as "the King-god," and it appears in the inscriptions of the Assyrian King Sargon (circa 722 B.C.); the second appears in the inscriptions of Sennacherib (circa 700 B.C.). I believe both are variants of the same Avesta name *Khshatara-Vairya* or *Shehrivar*—that of one of the Ameshâspentas. *Khshathra* in Avesta means "King."

Another foreign god appearing in the Assyrian inscriptions is—

MISHIRU.—Of whom also very little is known. The name is a slightly altered form of the Avesta *Mithra*. Gerald Massey, in his "Book of the Beginnings," translates *Misari* as the god *Mithra*.

Quitting the Babylonian Pantheon, let us now turn our eyes to the festivals and sacred months of that nation, and examine what further evidence they furnish about the relationship between Babylonia and Iran in very ancient time.

We have seen above that the Babylonian month *Sivan* corresponded to the Iranian month *Aspendâd*, and that the Babylonian goddess identical with the same Ameshâspenta *Aspendad* or *Spenta Ârmaiti* was *Sarpanitum*, the

goddess of Fertility. A festival of this goddess used to be held on the 25th of Sivan.

In the Iranian month, wherein thirty days have all different names, and are consecrated to different *yazatas*, the 25th day, according to the calendar given in the Avesta literature, and now in vogue, is dedicated to Ashisvangha, who has nothing in common with Spenta-Armaiti the female Ameshâspenta presiding over the earth. But a closer examination reveals some interesting facts. It has been held by all Avesta scholars that *Dae-pa-âdar*, *Dae-pa-mihr*, and *Dae-pa-din*, the 8th, the 15th, and the 23rd days in all months, seems to have been of later introduction into the calendar (when a sort of hebdomadal division was deemed necessary), for in the three names the first part common to all is a name of the Creator, and the last part is a repetition of the 9th, 16th, and the 24th days of the month. The inference that can be drawn from this is twofold :

1. That the names above mentioned replaced other names standing in exactly the same places, and thus the position of the other days of the month was not disturbed. Or—

2. That the names discarded were those of the last three days of the month—the 28th, the 29th, and the 30th—and by the insertion of the new names at the intervals of seven, seven, and eight days the position of the days from the 9th to the 30th was slightly shifted. Thus, Adar from being the 8th became the 9th, Mihr from the 14th became the 16th, Din from the 21st became the 24th, and so on up to Anerân, previously the 27th, now the 30th day.

That the latter inference, and not the former, is the correct one will be presently shown.

According to the second theory, the day *Zamiâd*, which is at present the 28th day of the month, was originally in very ancient times the 25th day. And so it is but natural to expect that the day consecrated to the *yazata* of the earth, in the month consecrated to the Ameshâspenta of the earth, should have been held as a festival (as appears

from the Babylonian festival on the 25th of Sivan), although it is true that no such Iranian festival has been preserved down to our days among the Zoroastrians.

The above theory receives further corroboration from a Babylonian festival in the month of Tammuz. It has been shown above that this month corresponded to the month Farvardin of the Iranians. It is not known on what particular day of the month the Babylonian festival was held, but from the Jewish calendar (which was borrowed from the Babylonians, and has been in use since the Captivity) it appears that the 17th of Tammuz was held as a fast. Now, if we take off, as explained above, the days Dae-pa-Âdar and Dae-pa-Mihr from the Iranian months, the 17th day is Farvardin—of the same name as the month—a festival day of the Zoroastrians.

The Babylonian ordinary year was one of 360 days, and this was brought into harmony with the solar year by intercalations of various kinds, one of which was the insertion of an intercalary month every six years. This month was named Elul,\* which, as we have seen above, corresponded to the Iranian month Khordâd. Whether the Iranian mode of intercalation in very remote ages was similar or not has not been definitely ascertained; the traces hitherto discovered of the oldest Iranian year point to a year of 365 days, and not 360. But that the Ameshâspenta Khordâd or Haurvatât had something to do with intercalation is apparent from the fact that in the Avesta, wherever there is a mention of this Ameshâspenta, there is at the same time an invocation addressed to the seasons and to the year. "The Ameshâspenta Haurvatât praise we. The prosperity of the seasons† praise we. The years, the pure, lords of purity, praise we."

We have seen above that the Babylonian month Mar-

\* In the Assyrian year, which was a luni-solar one, the month intercalated was a second Adar.

† Instead of "prosperity of the seasons," some translate "the yearly good dwelling."

cheshwan is the same as the Iranian month Ameretât, and that the Ameshâspenta after whom the Iranian month is named, is identical with the Babylonian god Marduk. This receives confirmation from the fact that, although Marduk held the foremost place in the Babylonian Pantheon, the month sacred to him was not the first month, Nisan, but the eighth month, Marcheshwan.

We shall next deal with other points of similarity between the Babylonian and the Iranian belief, such as those concerning the myths and legends, the hymns and the sacrificial rites, demonology and incantations. After a brief survey of the evidence furnished by those, as well as by certain geographical names and words common to both languages, we shall try to ascertain which of the nations has borrowed from the other, and when and in what respect has such borrowing taken place.

In the cosmological myth of the Babylonians we see that before the creation of the universe two things were in existence—

TIAMAT, the goddess of Chaos, and APSU, the primordial Ocean. In Tiâmat is noticeable the Avesta root *temâo* = darkness, and in Apsu the Avesta root *ap* = water.

In the Babylonian account of the deluge, the only man who, along with his family, escapes from the universal calamity, and from whose progeny the world is repopulated, is named KHASIS-ADRA (pronounced *Xi-suthros* by the Greeks). This name is the same as the Avesta *Ukhshyat-ereta*, or Hôshedar, the future saviour of mankind according to the Iranian belief. Khasis-adra means "very pious",\* and Ukhshyat-ereta means "growing piety," according to Dr. Geiger.

The Babylonian account of the deluge differs totally in other respects from the account given in the Vendidad of the snow-storm which took place in the time of Jamshid. But in the former the god who causes the deluge is Ramman,

\* Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 505, footnote.

a deity whose appearance in the Babylonian Pantheon dates from about 2300 B.C., or shortly after the rule of the Zoroastrians in Babylonia.

The Babylonians believed that each man had his own patron god and goddess, who made his welfare their peculiar charge, and to whose service he was specially devoted. In any trouble or affliction he would first turn to these two deities, and implore them to exert their influence in his behalf.\* These guardian deities resemble the *Fravashis* worshipped by the Iranians.

Among the demons whom the Babylonians feared the most may be mentioned the EKIMMU and the ASHAKKU.

The Ekimmu was the wandering shade of a man who had not received proper burial, and he was held to be very malicious, bewitching all whom he met with, and causing them grievous sickness. In the Avesta is mentioned a wicked demon, *Akâmanangh*, the root underlying which, viz., *aka* = "wicked, evil," is probably the root of Ekimmu also.

Ashakku was the demon of wasting diseases. According to Professor Sayce,† the word is the Akkadian *a-sig* = "strength-destroying." But the word seems evidently to be of Aryan origin. In Sanskrit *ashakti* means "want of strength, weakness," and in the Avesta *yaska* is "illness, weakness."

In order to keep away the demons and prevent their entering the houses, the Babylonians used to hang up in the house, probably at the entrance, tablets inscribed with extracts from the religious texts. A similar custom which has survived among the Zoroastrians is that of writing in Pehlavi characters on a piece of paper a religious formula, and pasting such paper on the door on the 5th day of the month Aspendâd, in order to secure the dwelling against the inroad of demons and of noxious animals.

\* L. W. King, "Babylonian Religion and Mythology," p. 209; also see Lenormant, "Chaldean Magic," pp. 199-201.

† "Hibbert Lectures," p. 455.

The Babylonian priests were divided into many classes, according to the special functions assigned to them. Some had to attend to the sacrifices, some consulted the oracles; there were those whose function was to exorcise the evil spirits, and, again, others who had to keep watch in the temple at night. The time that was deemed most suitable by the exorcists for the exercise of their functions—for breaking the spell of the demons and driving them away—was night-time, and the gods of night were specially invoked for the occasion.

The Iranians, too, had their priests divided into several classes. There were the *Zaotās*, who performed religious ceremonies; the *Frabaretars*, who arranged the materials used in the sacrifice; the *Athravans*, who tended the fire; the *Sraoshârvarezas*, who, weapon in hand, were supposed to scare away the evil spirits from the sacrifice, and others. Moreover, the ceremonies for exorcising the demons and controlling their evil influences were performed at night-time, as can be gathered from the "Aivisruthrem Gâh" prayer, wherein the time of night is referred to as set apart for the functions of the high-priest—the Zarthushtrotemo. The Vendidad (properly *vî-dævô-dâta*—i.e., the chants given for use against the daevas) was, and is still, recited at night-time—i.e., from midnight to morning.

Among the Babylonians, as well as among the Iranians and several other Aryan nations, the privilege of exercising the priestly functions was reserved for certain families, and any physical blemish was regarded as a disqualification for the calling.

In order to charm away diseases, the Babylonians in their incantations invoked by name certain medicinal herbs and weeds. A similar invocation occurs in the Vendidad (XX. 3-6).

Another Babylonian mode of curing a patient was to recite incantations in which the diseases were one by one named and cursed, and were commanded to leave the body. The primitive Iranian mode of healing was similar, as evidenced in Yasht III. and Vendidad XX. 7-10.

In the Babylonian religious ceremonies a water-basin called Apsu was indispensable; so has it been in the Yasna and Vendidad recitals of the Zoroastrians. Another sacred object in the Babylonian ceremonies was the ship, shaped like a crescent, for carrying the gods. A similar object used by the Zoroastrians is called the *Mâh-rû*, or "moon-shape," which is used as a support for the *baresma* rods.

Other objects used in the Babylonian religious ceremonies were: green branches of trees, pure water, fire, grains of corn, wine, scented wood, herbs, saffron, flesh of a white lamb, and so forth.\* The Zoroastrians use fire, water, wine, milk, scented wood, leaves of the pomegranate, the *baresma* or twigs of the tamarisk, the consecrated bread, and meat. The date-palm, which is a *sine quâ non* in every Zoroastrian temple, was held sacred in Babylonia also, and was there frequently represented on seal cylinders and monuments, with human forms in adoration before it.

The Babylonian festivals were called *Isinnu*, a word which seems to be derived from the Avesta *Yasna*—i.e., a sacrifice (modern Persian *Jashna* = a festival).

Some of the Babylonian legends are similar to those that we meet with in the *Shâhnâmah*, the Persian epic; but as we see no traces of them in the Avesta it is possible that the ideas may have been borrowed by the Iranians from the other nation at a later period.

Sargon of Agade, who flourished about 3800 B.C., says, in one of his inscriptions, that after his birth he was abandoned by his mother, who set him floating on the Euphrates in a basket, that he was rescued by Akki, the gardener, who brought him up as his own son, and that later, by the favour of the goddess Ishtar, he came to be a King.†

According to the *Shâhnâmah*, the King Dârâb, shortly after his birth, was similarly left to his fate in a basket set floating on the Euphrates, and he was picked up by a washerman, who brought him up.

\* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 539.

† L. W. King, "Babylonian Religion and Mythology," p. 198.

A Babylonian hero Etana had friendship with an eagle. At one time, when the wife of Etana had difficulty in childbirth, the eagle procured for her the "plant of birth," which insured safe delivery.\*

A similar story is told in the Shâhnâmah of Rustam's father, Zâl, who had friendship with the *sîmurgh* (the griffin). The mother of Rustam had great difficulty in giving birth to him, and was in a critical condition, whereupon Zâl sent for the *sîmurgh*, and it was due to the bird's valuable advice that the mother was safely delivered.

The Babylonian legend also informs us that on another occasion the eagle carried Etana up to heaven, and that after they had passed several gates of heaven they fell down. The part of the tablet narrating the accident which befell them is broken, but it appears from another tablet that both of them escaped with their lives.

A somewhat similar account in the Shâhnâmah is that of Kaikâûs, who had an ambition to scale the heavens. To gratify this whim he had a light throne constructed, which he placed on the back of four eagles and took his seat thereon. The eagles bore him aloft, but after a while they fell down *en masse* in a desolate place, whence Kaikâûs was picked up alive by his attendants.

We now proceed to examine the evidence furnished by certain Babylonian words and geographical names.

We have already seen that some of the Babylonian words are similar to or have their origin in the Avesta language. A few more words are given here for comparison.†

It must, however, be borne in mind that the words have undergone certain transformations according to the rules of philology. Thus the sound of *r* in Avesta becomes *l* in Babylonian, and similarly *ch* becomes *g*, *h* becomes *kh*, and so forth.

\* L. W. King, "Babylonian Religion and Mythology," pp. 184, 185.

† Most of the Babylonian words have been taken from Gerald Massey's "A Book of the Beginnings," vol. ii.

Babylonian (Semitic).	Avesta.
<i>Kiti</i> = Earth. <i>Khamma</i> = Heat. <i>Darati</i> = Long, lasting. <i>Sem</i> = Wheat. <i>Dakuti</i> = Gifts. <i>Urri</i> = Day. <i>Shar ru</i> = A king. <i>Tuhami</i> = Twins. <i>Kar</i> = Walled round, a fortress. <i>Ristu</i> = A chief. <i>Daenu</i> = A judge. <i>Asinnu</i> = A priest.	<i>Gaethâ</i> = World. <i>Hama</i> = Summer. <i>Daregha</i> = Long. <i>Ashem</i> = Flour, corn. <i>Dâiti</i> = Bestowing. <i>Hwar</i> = Sun, shining. <i>Khshathra</i> = A king. <i>Sar</i> = A chief. <i>Yema</i> = Twin. <i>Vara</i> = An enclosure. <i>Ratu</i> = A chief. <i>Daena</i> = Religious law, the faculty of discernment. <i>Isvant</i> = A priest.

Babylonian (Akkadian).	Avesta.
<i>Har</i> } = A mountain. <i>Khar</i> } <i>Kar</i> = Food. <i>Makh</i> = Supreme. <i>Luga</i> = To burn. <i>Abba</i> = Water. <i>Patesi</i> = Viceregent, ruler. <i>Imga</i> = A priest, honourable.*	<i>Harâ</i> = A mountain. <i>Khar</i> = To eat. <i>Maz</i> = Supreme, great. <i>Ruch</i> = To shine. <i>Ap</i> = Water. <i>Paiti</i> = A ruler, lord, master. <i>Magava</i> = Pious.

Coming to the Babylonian geography, we find that the most ancient and well-known towns were Eridu, Ur, Erech, and Lagash. According to Professor Sayce, ERIDU is a contracted form of the Akkadian Eri-duga = good city. But possibly it is a contraction of the Avesta Airya-Dakhyu = the noble country, or the Aryan country. ERECH or URUK, whose modern name is Warka, is akin to the *Vehrân* mentioned in the Vendidad. UR (the present Mughir) seems to have its origin in the *Urwa* of the Vendidad. LAGASH is the phonetic equivalent of *Ragha*, mentioned in the Vendidad. Another Babylonian city, called MAR or MARU, resembles in name the MOURU (or Merv) of the Vendidad.

\* Max Duncker, vol. v.

We know that when new colonies are established by any nation the names of the towns, mountains, rivers, etc., in the new country are often named after those in the mother-country, as we see in the case of many Australian and American places. A similar cause led to the naming of the Babylonian places after those in Iran, for, as is shown hereafter, there is a very great probability that the earliest known settlers in Babylonia—the Akkadians—came there from Iran.

With regard to the similarity shown above in certain points of the ritual, the sacrificial appurtenances, the worship of the guardian deities, the demonology and incantations, and the legendary law of the two nations, the data that we have are not yet sufficient to enable us to adjudge the claim of priority. But when we come to the worship of the celestial beings or gods we tread on firmer ground, and from the philological and other evidence to hand we are in a position to decide which nation has borrowed from the other.

Similarity of belief among two nations does not necessarily mean imitation on the part of either. Psychology teaches us that certain religious ideas spring up spontaneously in nations far removed from each other in points of time and space, and such is specially the case in the worship of the powers of Nature. But even in this worship there are certain ideas that are not capable of producing the same impression on the human mind—ideas that are not likely to have been independently developed in different nations—and when we come across such, it is worth while pausing to examine whether they are of native growth or a foreign graft. In such and other cases of similarity a right conclusion can be come to if based on the following principles :

1. When the names of the gods worshipped by a nation cannot be traced etymologically to the language of the people, but are derivable from the language of another nation worshipping similar gods and ascribing to them

similar attributes, it can safely be inferred that the former nation has borrowed from the latter.

2. In the case of two nations worshipping gods possessing similar names and attributes, if we find that the names in the one are abbreviations of those used by the other (as we have seen above in Nabu and Apâm-napât, Nusku and Nairyosangha, Marduk and Ameretât, Hea and Haurvat), the logical inference from it is that the nation using short forms of names has copied from the one in which whole names are found.

3. If we know that the worship of certain gods was unknown to a nation up to a certain time, and if there is evidence to show that shortly before the introduction of the new worship the nation had come into contact with another nation worshipping the above gods, the only legitimate conclusion that can be come to is that the former nation had learnt the new worship from the latter.

4. The science in religion teaches us that in all religions there is at the beginning a tendency towards a multiplication of gods, each god being assigned a separate function, but in the course of time the gods become amalgamated, as we see in the case of Nusku-Gibil, Nusku-Nabu, Bel-Marduk, etc., of the Babylonians, and Ammon-Ra, Osiris-Apis, (Serapion), etc., of the Egyptians. If, then, we find that in a particular nation there are two gods slightly differing from each other in their functions, while in another nation the two have become amalgamated into one god, or there is one god endowed with the attributes of both, the inference is not wrong that the phase of worship in the former nation is the older one. Take for example *Mithra*. *Mithra*, as his name implies, is originally "daylight"; he is not the sun, but is distinct from it, though in later times both were confounded, and when the Romans adopted the Mithraic cult they meant by *Mithra* the Sun-god only. Similarly, we see in the Babylonian Sun-god *Shamas* the incorporated functions of *Mithra* as the *Judge*, and in *Marduk* the characteristics of *Mithra* as the *Mediator*.

If these four tests are applied to the points of similarity shown above, it will be seen that some of the prominent features in the worship of most of the gods described above are of Iranian mould, and that the Babylonians afterwards adopted the ideas, and gradually developed them on their own lines.

It now remains for us to ascertain when and how this transplantation of Iranian conceptions on Babylonian soil could have taken place. For this purpose it will be necessary to give a list of the Iranian *yazatas* who served as prototypes for the Babylonian gods, together with the date of the earliest inscriptions in which the corresponding Babylonian gods are mentioned.

In the Assyrian period we come across *Asha-Ahura*, *Mithra*, and *Khshathravairya*.

In the inscriptions of about 2300 B.C. we notice *Spenta-Ârmaiti*, *Ameretât*, *Apâm-napât*, *Nairyoshanga*, *Râman* and *Mithra* (as Shamas the associate of Ramman).

In the inscriptions prior to the above date we find traces of *Verethraghna*, *Dami-Upamana*, *Mithra* (as Shamas the Judge), *Mâh* or the Moon-god, and the demon *Âêshma*.

In the inscriptions older still we recognise *Haurvatât* and *Airyaman* (circa 2800 B.C.), *Sraosha* (circa 2900 B.C.), *Bagha*, *Âdar*, *Gêush-urvan* (circa 3000 B.C.), and *Ashi* (circa 3800 B.C.).

From this list we may set aside for the present the gods known in the later or Assyrian period, as they do not much help towards establishing the great antiquity of the Iranian religion, and we may also leave out of consideration the Sun-god and the Moon-god, regarding whose cult the evidence to hand is not quite sufficient to show which nation was the first to assign to them certain peculiar functions. *Gêush-urvan* may also be left out of consideration, as the materials for identifying with this Yasata the Babylonian god *Gish-zida* are somewhat meagre.

Regarding *Spenta-Ârmaiti*, *Ameretât*, *Râman*, *Nairyoshanga* and *Apâm-napat*, whose counterparts appear in the

Babylonian Pantheon from about the time of Hammurabi, we have strong testimony in favour of the priority of their worship. In the first place, the Babylonian names of the gods are contractions of the whole names in the Avesta, to which, therefore, they belong originally; and, in the second place, the Babylonian gods do not seem to have had any existence until about 2300 B.C., or shortly after the period referred to by Berosus, when Babylonia was ruled by the Medes or the Zoroastrians, who, though they disappeared from the page of Babylonian history for several succeeding centuries, left on the mind of the subject nation the impress of their religious belief.

Before, however, we take the origin of Zoroastrianism so far back into antiquity, we have to ascertain whether the *yazatas* just named are of post-Zoroastrian or pre-Zoroastrian times. The Iranian deities worshipped prior to the time of Zoroaster were also common to the Vedic Aryans,\* and among these we come across Apâm-napât, Armaiti, and Nairyosangha. But Râman and Ameretât are nowhere mentioned in the Vedas, and are purely post-Zoroastrian deities. In the Gâthâs of Zoroaster the word *Ameretât* is frequently used in its abstract sense, and at times, for poetic effect, the idea is personified. The latter use led to the transformation of the abstract idea into a separate entity, or as an archangel, in later times.

We have, then, so far, arrived at the conclusion that the Age of Zoroaster is prior to B.C. 2300.

In the inscriptions earlier than this period we have seen the names of Bagha, Airyamana, Verethraghna, Âdar (or Âtar), Dâmi-upamana, the demon Aeshma, Haurvatât, Sraosha, and Ashi. The first four are pre-Zoroastrian deities, as their names occur in the Rig Veda also. About Dâmi-upamana and Aeshma further research is necessary, and these may therefore be left out; but

\* The Iranians and the Vedic Aryans seem to have separated at about the time of Zoroaster's mission, for we find Gushtasp and some of his warriors mentioned in the Vedas; and likewise some Vedic personages mentioned in the Gâthâs (*vide supra*).

the last three, *Haurvatât*, *Sraosha*, and *Ashi*, are decidedly post-Zoroastrian. They make their appearance in the *Gâthâs* as abstract ideas, occasionally personified, as is noticed in the case of *Ameretât*, and their transformation into *yazatas* is a subsequent development. Since the female *yazata Ashi*, as the Babylonian *Ishtar*, appears in the inscriptions of about 3800 B.C., it may safely be presumed that the Zoroastrian religion, and consequently the age of Zoroaster, are of an earlier date still.\*

In our quest of the age of Zoroaster we have thus arrived at the hoary antiquity of 3800 B.C.; but the object of our search lies still further off—we have still to traverse several centuries before we can reach the hithermost outposts of that memorable epoch. To form an estimate of the length of this intervening space, we shall now have to examine when and how certain religious ideas and forms of speech of the Aryan nation came to be adopted by the Babylonians. The Median rule of the twenty-fifth century B.C. accounts, as we have seen, but for a part of the resemblance we have noticed; it throws no light whatsoever on how, the gods worshipped previously to that age, found their way into the Babylonian Pantheon. The explanation of this should be sought in another direction.

The earliest hitherto known people that settled in Babylonia were a nomad tribe, speaking a language classified as Turanian, or of the agglutinative group. The parts that they settled in were called by them *Shumir* and *Akkad*, and hence their language has been indifferently termed *Akkadian* or *Sumerian* by modern scholars. There is historical evidence to prove that even so early as 4500 B.C. they had a well-established form of government there.† Assyriologists concur on the point that these Turanians were not indigenous to the soil, but came from some other country. "If we examine the elementary

\* This does not mean that all the *Yashts* and other prayers are of similar antiquity. What is proved here is the antiquity of the *worship*, and not of the *writings*. The oldest Scriptures are the *Gâthâs* only.

† Robertson, "Voices of the Past," p. 165.

characters of their cuneiform writing with a view to discovering what the internal objects were which they originally represented, we find that the nature of the objects thus formed into graphic signs seems to indicate as the original seat of this writing a land other than Chaldea—a more northern region, with a different fauna and flora.”\* The Akkadians were well supplied with the names of metals, though no metallic ores whatever could at any time have been found in Chaldea.† Moreover, the Akkadian word used for every kind of camel is one that can be etymologically explained to have been originally intended for a special variety—the two-humped animals of Bactria.‡ From these and other facts Orientalists have come to the conclusion that the original home of the Babylonian Turanians was the mountainous district of Central Asia. The name Akkad, given to a portion of their old settlements, signifies in their language “mountain or high country,” a name given in remembrance of their old home, although it was at variance with the character of the locality in which they now dwelt.

The Turanians were followed by the Semites, who gradually extended their sway over the whole of Babylonia. The two nations soon amalgamated, and came to have the same religious beliefs in common. The Semitic language was used by both for ordinary purposes; the Akkadian was reserved for religious literature. The Semites must have arrived much earlier than 4000 B.C., for in the time of Sargon (3800 B.C.) they had already succeeded in building up an empire. There are many indications that they, too, came from the north.§

So it appears that the original home of the Babylonians was Central Asia, the same regions which were occupied by the Indo-Iranian nation. That these Iranian regions were not occupied solely by the Aryans, but were peopled

\* Lenormant, “Chaldean Magic,” p. 359.

† Robertson, “Voices of the Past,” p. 28.

‡ Lenormant, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

§ Robertson, “Voices of the Past,” p. 46.

by non-Aryan nations as well, appears also from the Avesta.\*

Another circumstance that points to the dwelling together of the nations speaking the Indo-Iranian and the Turanian languages is the mysterious signification they attributed to certain numbers. "Sixty" was one of the numbers to which such importance was given by the Babylonians. A cycle of sixty years was called "sos," ten sos a "ner," and sixty sos a "ser." The Chinese—another Turanian nation—have also a sacred cycle of sixty years. The Hindus, too, reckon by "Brihaspati" cycles of similar numbers of years; and, besides, they divide the day into sixty "ghatis," each "ghati" into sixty "pals," and each "pal" into sixty "vi-pals."

Another sacred number both among the Turanians and the Aryans is "seven." A week of seven days is an institution in almost all these nations, and the days of the week are named from the same celestial objects and in the same order.

A Babylonian goddess, Davkina, the wife of Hea, bears the same name as Devki, the mother of the Hindu god Krishna.

All these circumstances point to the fact that the Babylonian Turanians, before they came down to the plains watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates, dwelt with the Indo-Aryans in the countries of Central Asia.†

This, then, explains the presence of Iranian gods in the Babylonian Pantheon, the similarity in geographical names, and the sprinkling of Avesta words in the Babylonian language. The latter people had made these things their

\* Geiger, "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians," translation of Dastur Darab, vol. i., pp. 19-24.

† A passage from the Gâthâs seems to allude to this circumstance. In the third Gâthâ (Yasna XLIX.) we find Zoroaster complaining of the hostility of a certain person mentioned as "the very strong Bendva." This person must have been a Turanian of the same race as the people so frequently referred to above, for we have seen that "Banda," in the Akkadian language, means "strong."

own when they were dwelling with the Iranians in the same regions, and when they came down to their new home, they, of course, brought these ideas along with them.

It now remains to be seen *when* they separated—whether before the advent of Zoroaster or after.

When we see that the worship of the Iranian *yazatas* *Sraoshi*, *Haurvat*, and *Ashi*, was prevalent with the Babylonians in the most ancient times, and also bear in mind that these *yazatas* are of a post-Zoroastrian age, the only conclusion that we can come to is that the separation must have taken place some time after the Age of Zoroaster. We find the Babylonians already settled and having an established government in B.C. 4500; and supposing that they had come down only a hundred years earlier, the latest date that we can assign to the separation would be about B.C. 4600. If we add to this about four to five hundred years, the least period necessary for the abstract ideas of the time of Zoroaster to crystallize into *yazata* forms, we come upon B.C. 5000 as the point in the time-horizon beyond which we should direct our mental telescope to look for the age of the Iranian lawgiver. It is possible that the age may be still earlier,\* and perhaps further researches in Babylonia and Persia may tend to corroborate the statements of the ancient Greek writers, who assigned to

\* I believe a different line of inquiry also leads to this conclusion. The Iranians regarded the star Tishtriya (*i.e.*, Sirius), or, rather, the *yazata* presiding over the star, as the god of Rain. In Yasht VIII. the acronycal rising of the star is anxiously looked for as being the harbinger of the rainy season. In Central Asia, the original home of the Iranians, this season sets in soon after the autumnal equinox, and therefore in some very ancient time, when Sirius was identified as the Rain-bringing god, the star must have been about  $180^\circ$  apart from the sun at the time of the autumnal equinox; that is to say, the right ascension of the star must have been then somewhere near  $0^\circ$ . At present the right ascension of the star is  $100^\circ$ , which has been brought about by the lapse of about  $72 \times 100 = 7,200$  years, according to the law of the precession of the equinoxes. This takes us back to the period of about 5300 B.C. for the antiquity of Tishtriya worship, which seems to be post-Zoroastrian, since the star-god had a different name among the Vedic Indians.

Zoroaster the era of 6,000 years before Plato, although the evidence already to hand does not carry us so far. But the field of research is not yet exhausted. Many inscriptions and monuments are being unearthed every year, many still remain to be deciphered; and when these shall have all unbosomed themselves of the secrets they hold, the mist that envelops the age of that renowned philosopher and prophet of antiquity will, at no very distant date, be dispersed, and we shall be in a position to gauge more accurately the distance that separates him from us. As it is, the Babylonian inscriptions have rendered no little service in the matter. They have amply repaid the debt which they owed to the inscriptions of the Zoroastrian King Darius for furnishing the key to their decipherment.

In conclusion, I have only to add that, my acquaintance with the Babylonian and the Avesta literatures not being first hand, I may very likely have gone astray in some respects; but though my conclusions might not be held valid on all points, it would be a matter of satisfaction to me, even if this paper merely serves to direct researches into a new channel, which might lead to fresh discoveries concerning the Zoroastrian religion.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday, May 18, 1903, a paper was read by C. W. Whish, Esq. (late I.C.S.), on "The Indian Problem of Social Intercourse." Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Lady Wyllie, T. H. Thornton, Esq., D.C.L., C.S.I., Lesley Probyn, Esq., Loraine Petre, Esq., Major Arthur Hay, J. D. Rees, Esq., C.I.E., Colonel T. R. Cowie, Colonel A. T. Frazer, the Hon. Mrs. Randolph Clay, Mrs. Whish, Mrs. Aublet, Miss Beck, Miss Campbell, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. and Mrs. J. Durant Beighton, Rev. J. Lazarus, Miss Holderness, Mr. and Mrs. Ferrar, Mrs. Cook, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Mussenden, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. B. A. Cooper, Mr. Ali Asghar, Mr. W. H. Garbutt, Mr. E. Horowitz, Mr. James Kemsley, Mr. Frank Birdwood, Miss Halliday, Mr. Kenworthy, Miss Peacock, Mrs. Sutherst, Miss Lymont, Mrs. Colin Lamont, Mr. T. D. Zal, Captain Rolleston, Mrs. Dewé, Mrs. Albert Whish, Miss Annie Smith, Miss Sayer, M.D., Miss Manning, Mr. Wagle, Mr. Coldstream, Mr. C. Lyne, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN having introduced Mr. Whish,

The paper was read.\*

The CHAIRMAN said he would first deal with the simplest part of the subject, that of intercourse in England, of which alone he could speak from personal experience. He had during the past quarter of a century been brought into fairly frequent contact with a considerable number of natives of India, as teacher or examiner, as host or as guest. He could not honestly say that he had noticed any difference between the Indian students and their English contemporaries. In both cases he met with the idle and the industrious, the stupid and the clever, the vicious and the virtuous. He had heard that the souls of college tutors were, perhaps, vexed a little more with native than with English students with reference to certain money difficulties, but he fancied exactly the same thing would be likely to happen with young Englishmen similarly situated. There was, however, one gap in his experience: he had never had to consider the subject of social intercourse with Indian students from the point of view of the father of marriageable daughters, and he fancied that here would be found the root of any difficulty that might exist. All the world over the zest of social intercourse beyond a certain point was dependent on the question whether the families concerned were or were not prepared to contemplate courtship and marriage as possible and not undesirable consequences of growing intimacy. It was a subject on which one must tread rather delicately; but he would not be true to his convictions if he did not repudiate absolutely the idea that there was anything intrinsically objectionable in mixed marriages. He was sure there were among

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

their Indian visitors not a few with whom, if it were simply a question of personal character, and of community of tastes and ideas, the best-bred and most high-minded Englishwoman need not hesitate to associate her lot. But it was not simply a question of personal affinity. In the case of an Indian living in India with an English wife the position between two exclusive societies was, perhaps, not unlike that of the schoolboy's definition of an amphibious animal, as one which cannot live on land, and which dies in the water. The natural difficulties were quite appreciably aggravated by the unsatisfactory condition of the general marriage law of India. While they must admire the courage of the few who took the plunge, they must also sympathize with and respect the caution of the majority. The other branch of the subject was more difficult. To welcome a foreign visitor, or to behave with propriety as a foreign visitor, was a comparatively simple matter ; but the official Englishman in India had to support the much more trying character of a foreign master. That was an unpopular expression, and he was sorry to use it. The lecturer had said that the district officer ought to feel himself the servant of the Indian public, but the hard fact was that according to the letter of his contract he was the servant of the British electorate. It was for them, as the British electorate, to do what they could to lighten his task by making him feel that in serving the Indian public he was serving them as they wished to be served. As to the particular method suggested for oiling the political wheels with social intercourse, he hoped they would hear some interesting observations from ex-officials and from Indians on both sides of the shield. As a mere theorist he would ask, Was not there some danger in the suggestion that the local leaders of native society should be encouraged, when calling on the district officer, to pour into his private ear anything that they happened to know about the misdeeds of his subordinates ? Anyone who had enjoyed the hospitality of district officers in India would realize what a serious burden it would be if to the frequent appearance of a globe-trotter, expecting to be entertained, were to be added the enlarged conception of social duties which the lecturer had opened out before them ; and was not it possible that the result might be a demand for either more pay or more men, and hence an increase in those Home Charges which were not, to put it mildly, the most popular feature of British rule in India ?

The lecturer had said little about the non-official Englishman, whose position was rather different. The official was bound to qualify himself, as far as time would permit, to understand all phases of native feeling ; and parenthetically he might ask whether the Government did all that they might do to encourage, and to enable, civilians to acquire proficiency in Oriental languages. To the non-official or military Englishman, who might not have leisure or inclination for the studies necessary to make intercourse with high-class Indians really profitable, Mr. Meredith Townsend's view might perhaps be commended—that the form of courtesy which the native would most appreciate, where close intimacy was out of the question, was the simple avoidance of obtrusive familiarity. But there was a painfully trite quotation about the difference between dis-

sembling your love for a person and kicking him downstairs, and no reader of Indian newspapers could fail to be aware that for too many of our countrymen the "Indian social question" was still in the rudimentary stage of considering how to check brutal insults and assaults.

MR. J. D. REES could not quite approach the subject from the point of view of the Chairman, because it did not seem to him that the object of social intercourse was to lead up to making the Indian more or less a pale reflex of the European, or to any such relations as that of marriage, for instance. He did not think that was desired on either side. He thought there should be no idea on either side of taking to themselves the attributes of the other. The more distinctly each race maintained its own racial characteristics the greater would be the respect which each would entertain for the other. (Applause.) On the other hand, he did not believe that the difficulty of intercourse between Indians and British people was so great as was represented. He believed it to be particularly easy to be on good terms with Indians, provided that the attitude of patronage, which had been referred to, was carefully eschewed. The Chairman had hinted that administrators in India were not conversant with the Indian languages. That was so. The Government gave them little encouragement in that respect, except in respect of a mere money reward. The officials had to rely a good deal upon interpreters. Everyone responsible for administration in India should be able to converse with the Indians, and if once that position were brought about the difficulty would disappear. Reference had been made to the Indian ladies. As a rule, he was afraid that Englishwomen were not always on the side of amicable intercourse between Indians and Europeans, although there were honourable and brilliant exceptions in the case of individual ladies, many of whom were associated with the society over which Miss Manning so ably presided. Some unfortunate dogmatisms were continually made with reference to the character of the Indians. There were good and bad among them as among other people, but to say that they were in general worse than Europeans was a hopeless attitude to take. Even to say that they were to put out of their minds prejudice against them was again to betray the trail of the serpent of patronage. It would be easy to get on with Orientals but for that. Mr. Whish had referred to what might be called "official swagger." That, no doubt, stood very much in the way. He remembered when he was a very young official directing a clerk to read out his draft, and it ran: "We, the Assistant Collector, will make our Royal Progress into your village to-morrow, when it will please us to inspect the accounts." It was a usual thing for a clerk drafting an order to use this turgid, bombastic, and, he thought, ridiculous language. (Applause.) True, the Indians used such hyperbolic expressions, but there again the mistake was to suppose that they wanted to see us imitate their ways. On the contrary, such imitation strikes them as being either odious or ridiculous. To the extent of always using the right pronoun, and being polite in our conversation, we should, of course, go; but that is not imitation of their habits, but merely adopting in the Indian languages the mere minimum of ordinary politeness, which is observed in European

tongues. But as things are, an official describes himself through his clerks as the Great Mogul in his letters, and then perhaps calls an Indian gentleman "tum," or "you fellow," in conversation. To say the least, so incomplete and one-sided an assumption of an attitude is highly inartistic. He regretted he had no time to say more on Mr. Whish's paper, which dealt with a subject in which he took the greatest interest.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN thought that everyone would agree with the sentiments of the lecturer in the paper to which they had listened. They seemed to him of the highest ethical quality, and rather reminded him of the meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. He was not sure that for practical purposes they did not soar into a higher air than humble mortals could easily breathe. He agreed with them, but thought them somewhat unpractical. Some years ago at Lahore with Dr. Leitner, who was one of the founders of the East India Association, and whose loss they deplored, he had tried, on a large scale, the system of mixed entertainments at which there were separate refreshments for Hindoos, for Muhammadans, and for English people, and the attempt was made to bring about a more cordial understanding between the two races, with a measure of success; but the difficulty of forcing people somewhat unnaturally into close relations was a very great one. What Mr. Rees and the chairman had referred to played a very large part in the matter. He was not sure that intimate social intercourse with Europeans was really the desire of the natives of India at all. (Hear, hear.) The English were a reserved and not an effusive race, but was it to be imagined that they were less sympathetic to the natives of India than to the ordinary Frenchman or German? Reading the press of the Continent, he imagined that the manners and conduct of Englishmen throughout Europe were the constant subject of abuse, and they were considered to be the most disagreeable, the most conceited, and the most odious people on the face of the earth, and he had very little doubt that they were. (Laughter.) But he denied that they were so considered on the continent of Asia. He thought the Hindoos amongst themselves were certainly not at all more social than were English people towards Hindoos. A Hindoo of one caste would no more dine with a Hindoo of another caste than an Englishman would dine with his butler. He asserted that the Hindoo was far more sympathetic to the ordinary well-bred Englishman than he was to people of his own race, with whom he had no social sympathy whatever. It was further to be considered that the chief and initial difficulty of social intercourse between the English and the Indians was not due to the English, but to the Indians themselves. What were the two most important things in the social relations of mankind? He put aside Art as trivial, and Politics as a mere plaything. The two foundations on which civilized society was built and maintained were women and dining. (Laughter.) The Englishman would readily entertain and dine with the Hindoo, but so long as the Indian considered it pollution to dine with the Englishman, and so long as he refused to bring his ladies into the common society of the two races, the difficulty of social intercourse must inevitably remain. He saw no chance of bridging that gulf, and he doubted whether it would be a good thing if it were

bridged. Our Indian Empire was founded on respect, not on affection. What he had said was not in hostility to Mr. Whish's paper. They all desired the most cordial relations with their fellow-subjects in the East; but these little alleviations, giving a garden-party here, and attending a salon there, did not go to the root of the matter. The root of the matter lay deep in caste and race difference. Let them treat India with justice, let them give Indians a fair share in the administration of the country, let them give them the best education they could, and they would then, without attempting an impossible social amalgamation, have done all they could to make them a people contented with their English rulers. (Applause.)

MR. J. DURANT BEIGHTON, I.C.S. (retired), said that he found his position somewhat embarrassing. The title of Mr. Whish's suggestive paper was a little ambiguous, and for his part he had thought that the "social question" in India referred to problems of social reform among the natives of India themselves. Had this been so he feared the remarks he had to make would have still more clearly indicated the "trail of the serpent" which had been already anathematized by Mr. Rees. He agreed to some extent with what Sir Lepel Griffin and Mr. Rees had said with regard to the main features of intercourse between natives and Europeans, and he thought from the social aspect it was not really desired by natives. It must be borne in mind that from some points of view the natives were as highly civilized as we were, but the historic differences in language, habits, and mode of thought made it difficult for the two races to coalesce. With regard to the language difficulty, he thought the Government—at any rate in recent times—was not free from blame. In former years when English servants of the State had not the present facilities for furlough they realized that they had to make their homes in India altogether, and it was almost a matter of necessity to acquire the Oriental tongues. He feared that some of the social gatherings in those autocratic and even despotic days were hardly such as the lecturer contemplated. He recollected a story, to be found, he thought, in "The Lives of the Lindsays." There was a certain collector of Sylhet who wished to raise a large sum of money (it is to be hoped for a public purpose). He placed himself in the middle of a concentric circle of natives. Those honoured by being placed nearest to him were expected to pay Rs. 100 a head. Those further off Rs. 50, and so on till they came to the outer circle, from whom he would be content with a subscription of eight annas! There is now no encouragement on the part of the Government towards mastering the Oriental tongues so as to render intercourse pleasant and profitable with natives who do not understand English. A high official had told him of the gradually increasing indifference of public servants to the acquisition of either of the languages spoken in Bengal, and added that knowledge of languages was no longer a factor in promotion. Allusion had been made to the necessary absence of Indian ladies from social functions. That was a most important matter. It was impossible to conceive of any social intercourse, properly so-called, between themselves and the natives of India, when they were absolutely excluded from the society of native ladies. There existed, how-

ever, in the province of Bengal, the well-known religious institution of the "Brahma Somāj." Many of the Indian ladies belonging to this sect were well educated, and did go out into society, and he had been present at dinner parties in which these ladies took a graceful and decorous part. Apart from that community, he thought there was something unreal and even artificial in the attempts that were from time to time made to promote social intercourse between the two races. He thought, however, Mr. Whish was rather too hard on the officials. In his experience it was the officials who made all the overtures towards social intercourse, and it was the natives who stood aloof. It was in vain that the official piped a social tune if the natives would not dance to it. He did not wish to be misunderstood. He had never found any difficulty in securing the attention and sympathy of leading natives when there was anything of importance to discuss affecting the well-being of the district. In such matters, and those relating to business generally, he had always found the assistance and co-operation of natives most valuable. But this, of course, was quite a different standpoint from that adopted by Mr. Whish.

The REV. J. LAZARUS (of Madras) thought the problem of social intercourse one of great importance, the solution of which bristled with difficulties. He was glad Mr. Whish had grappled with the problem in such a way as, perhaps, to lead to some very practical proposals. He came from a part of India where there was a good deal of unfettered free intercourse between Europeans and Indians, but nevertheless there was a feeling amongst the latter that they were not very comfortable in European society. There was a feeling among the Europeans that they were the rulers and superiors by position and occupation. There was also amongst the Indians a certain consciousness that they were the ruled, and therefore the inferiors. Another difficulty was the want of tact on the part of the leaders of both European and Indian society in making intercourse free and easy by introducing suitable topics for conversation. In Madras various efforts had been made to bring about a greater amount of intercourse. The Governor gave two great garden parties, but beyond that there was no such thing as a reception for smaller gatherings in the drawing-room. He understood that Mr. Whish had referred to a special drawing-room for Indian gentlemen. He would deprecate that. In the matter of social intercourse, he thought English ladies were a very essential and potent factor. They had done a great deal in Madras to bring about social intercourse, getting up garden parties and drawing-room parties for Indian ladies. He agreed with Mr. Rees, and others who had referred to the fact that, because Hindoos did not dine with each other, there was no social intercourse, but he did not attach much importance to dinners, whatever the case might be as regards Englishmen. In the present state of Indian society Indian ladies could not move in European society. Even if they did, what could they talk about? It would be a long time before they were sufficiently educated to have a community of interest with their European sisters. Altogether, the problem of social intercourse was a most hopeful one, and every one, both European and Indian, should earnestly strive to contribute towards its speedy solution. (Applause.)

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN asked to be permitted to say a word or two on the subject from its political aspect. He thought the good influence of social intercourse made itself very much felt with regard to the British officials in India if from the first they got into friendly relations with the Indian people about them. Almost every young Englishman wished to meet the Indians in a friendly and sympathetic manner, but the position he occupied made it very difficult for him to get into touch with the right people. He was a sort of king in his district, and the people who naturally hastened to gain his favour were the people who wanted something from him; he was consequently often very much disappointed in them. It required a great deal of time and trouble for a European official to find out who were really the good, independent people in Indian society. People who had the confidence and respect of their neighbours were the people who were willing to tell disagreeable truths, and the great things to learn were the disagreeable truths, if they wished to redress grievances and to make themselves popular in India. (Hear, hear.) He did not think it was necessary to dine or dance with people in order to be on intimate and friendly terms. He wished to add his thanks to Mr. Whish for what he had said in the matter.

MR. COLDSTREAM had sent up his card with a suggestion that the Chairman should call upon some Indian gentlemen to express their opinions upon the question. His own remarks would be very few, and principally by way of criticism. He agreed with Sir Lepel Griffin and Mr. Rees in thinking that there was no such great difficulty surrounding the subject of intercourse between Europeans and Indians. He dissented from the view of those gentlemen who had said they thought the Indians did not value the society of Europeans to any very great extent. Again, it had been said that the rulers of India were not in touch with the people. That he entirely dissented from. He had in recent years seen Governors of provinces who had been in entire sympathy with the people so far as their opportunities for intercourse and acquiring information went. He desired to repeat a sentiment which he had heard Lord Reay express (he believed at a meeting of this Association) to the effect that he hoped that no Indian would consider himself a foreigner in the streets of London. (Applause.)

MR. WAGLE thanked Mr. Whish most heartily for the very able paper he had read, and said that he entirely agreed with the general sentiments contained in the paper, as well as what had fallen from the chair. It seemed to him that with regard to the views expressed in connection with the intercourse between Indians and English people there was a little confusion. Some considered that the Indians were not willing to tolerate the interference of English people in the social activities of life; others thought it was not so. The confusion arose from the fact that the Indian community was divided into two classes. There were some Indians of the older generation brought up in a quite Indian way, who no doubt thought that the people of the West were to some extent an inferior race, and consequently resented all sorts of interference. But there are others, the educated Indian community, which is increasing in numbers and influence

every day, and who are eager to enjoy the high privilege and honour to mix socially with the Western people, whose literature, ideas, and sentiments have so much moulded their minds and changed their tastes. When, therefore, the contradiction of views arose, I believe it so happened that some were referring to one class and some to the other. He thought Sir Lepel Griffin, in saying that Indians were not willing to tolerate the interference of mixing, probably had in view those people who never came into touch with the Western culture, who simply lived in their villages and followed their ancient avocations. The educated classes were certainly most eager to mix in English society. He felt sure he would be expressing the views of his educated countrymen when he said that not one in a hundred would resent interference, but would be obliged for any kindness, and any encouragement given in the way of promoting social intercourse between the two races, whose destinies are so much interwoven as citizens of the same Empire. The question was what kind of social intercourse. It was not dinners; it was not at homes, not even the exchange of cups of tea, but the sympathy of sentiment. It was the admission of equality. (Applause.)

If time had permitted MR. WHISH would have made the following reply :

As to the very sympathetic remarks of our Chairman, I would only say that I cannot see any real difficulty in the marriage question. We most of us disapprove of mixed marriages, the results of which are generally very disappointing. I was very glad to hear the language question brought in ; linguistic ability is so rare in the Anglo-Saxon that it militates against our cordial intercourse with all nations. The only remedy that I can see lies in reforms in elementary school training, and, I cannot help adding, in cultivating that desire to get outside his narrow circle, which seems also so rare in the Anglo-Saxon. In India our first object should be to get into touch with the people, and when the desire for this is present the language difficulty will be overcome. Mr. Rees has put us all under obligation by his vindication of the claims to respect of the Oriental as an Oriental, and similar remarks apply to Sir Lepel Griffin's speech. I am quite ready to admit the truth of what he says about the unpractical nature of many of my proposals. All that I wanted to do was to emphasize the necessity of having high ideals as a guarantee against inaction. It is perfectly true that Hindoos do not understand social intercourse in our sense, although I think the beginnings of a new state of things may be remarked in the big cities. Intercourse between equals in India is formal and rare, and, as a rule, the big man only receives the ceremonial visits of his inferiors. But these customs surely tend to perpetuate the defects of Indian life, and a common platform of intellectual sympathy should enable us to overcome all such difficulties. This, too, is what I should like to remark in reply to Mr. Beighton, who is so strong on the obstacle to cordial intercourse presented by the Purdah system. Surely this is one of the "obsessions" which we have been deprecating ! The paucity of Indian ladies in our drawing-rooms should be no bar to sympathetic intellectual companionship, and even if it were, we have simply to accept things as they are. The

speech of the Rev. Mr. Lazarus is quite sufficient to show what a case of misnomer it is to call Madras the "benighted Presidency." But I am horrified to find that he, and apparently other Indian speakers, have totally misunderstood my remarks as to a special room for Indian visitors. Nothing was further from my thoughts than to imagine that such visitors would not be received in the drawing-room. I was thinking only of their morning visits to the official as an official, and Europeans on similar errands would use the same room. I had hoped that the general tenor of my remarks would have been enough to disarm suspicion. I am afraid this looks like another intrusion of the "obsession" or "idée fixe." I cannot urge too forcibly upon my hearers the importance of what Sir William Wedderburn says about finding out the right people with whom to have intercourse. It is often, as Sir William says, extremely difficult to get at such people, for reasons which it would perhaps be impolitic to enlarge upon here. How invaluable the results of such a process are only those who share such views can tell. Mr. Coldstream says that some of the ruling race in India are in touch with the ruled. This is certainly true, but only when there is a willingness to make the efforts and sacrifices which are demanded. I firmly believe that if this could be universally the case the task of governing in India would be so easy that the large majority of our unsolved problems would disappear of themselves. I am sorry that we did not furnish Mr. Wagle with a copy of the paper, but I regret to see that he shared Mr. Lazarus's misapprehension as to the object of my unfortunate proposal for the comfort of Indian visitors to officials. I trust, however, that I have now made it plain that I desire to see Indians received on a basis of perfect equality, and recognise that they would be justified in refusing to be satisfied with anything less.

I shall add a word of caution against either race yielding to the temptation of making sweeping generalizations as to the character of the other. We shall probably find that failings which we have attributed to a particular ethnic stock are, to a great extent, inherent in human nature; the circumstances of each race have tended to develop and intensify some qualities, while others have remained dormant or been atrophied.

As I heard reiterated on Saturday night at the dinner of the Society, got up for furthering cordial intercourse between this country and France, the *entente cordiale*, we should each try to supplement our own deficiencies by what the other can give us.

Then I want to apologise for having apparently ignored the National Indian Association. The omission was intentional, for I feared to be charged with want of appreciation of the work which has made Miss Manning's name a household word in India. As may have been anticipated by those who can read between the lines of what has preceded—and a good deal *is* intended to be thus read—I personally think that a wider sphere of effort, or at least more strenuous effort, is needed to accomplish the beneficent objects of the National Indian Association. How this might be done I have endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to suggest.

I think the East India Association is to be congratulated upon having

inaugurated to-day the addition of refreshments to the attractions of its meetings.

Another matter of congratulation, indirectly, at least, connected with our subject, is that the Transvaal Government has recently exempted from the operation of its differential race legislation Indians of education and civilization. This concession seems to emphasize what has been said above about Indians rising to the standard demanded by the West. Residential colleges—an attempt to transplant to Asiatic regions the moral and intellectual atmosphere of Eton and Oxford—these things seemed called for to further the attainment of this standard. This might supply another item to our list of suggestions, and a full “baker’s dozen” might be reached by adding a final one. The attempt to form a “Third Party for India” has been christened by the “Queen” an *Anglo-Indian Association*. Might not this be included in a still wider organization, an Imperial Association whose propaganda should seek to found the entire policy of the Empire on a basis of broad-minded statesmanship, and the “Righteousness which exalteth a nation,” and whose headquarters should be at the Imperial Institute?

At a meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday, June 8, 1903, a paper was read by Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., on “Indians in the Transvaal.”\* The Right Hon. Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., M.P., Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., and Lady West, Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., the Hon. Shankaram Nair, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Dr. A. M. Brown, Mr. Robert Sewell, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Whish, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Captain A. J. Windham, Mr. J. H. Brown, Mr. Alexander Porteus, I.C.S., Mr. J. Durant Beighton, I.C.S., Mr. W. H. Garhutt, Chowdhri Dalip Singh Sharma, Mr. G. S. Sharma, Mr. C. Lyne, Mr. Henry Adams, Mr. J. Hemsley, Mr. Adolph Rost, Mr. N. B. Wagle, Mr. C. E. Maurice, Mr. J. D. Zal, Mr. J. E. Champney, Mr. J. R. Fernandez, Mr. J. M. Parikh, Mr. W. D. Halls, Mr. G. Thomas, Mr. Ikbāl Narayean, Mr. M. B. Kolasker, Mr. P. N. Pandit, Mr. Martin Wood, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. L. W. Daru, Sheik Ayyaz Hussein, Miss H. Maloney, Mrs. A. Chatelain, Mrs. Bedford, Miss E. Hearn, Mrs. H. Bradlaugh Bonner, Shyamji Krishna Varma, Mr. H. S. Gupta, Mr. and Mrs. M. B. Barbhaya, Mr. V. P. Vaidya, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN said the subject of the paper, which was the position of Indians in the Transvaal in particular, and incidentally in all parts of the British Empire, was one of deep moment. He was present at a deputation to the Secretary of State, and by no one was the principle of the right of the British Indian subject to carry on his avocations freely in all parts of the British Empire pleaded more strongly than by the Secretary of State himself, and it was impossible to be otherwise than satisfied with the language used by him on that occasion. With regard to the Viceroy, and

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

the Government of the Viceroy at Calcutta, there was reason to think that they agreed with the view expressed by Sir William Wedderburn. At a debate on the Financial Statement, an admirable speech was made by Rai Sri Ram Bahadur, who appealed to the Government to use its influence to obtain that treatment for British Indian subjects throughout the Empire which was their right. The Viceroy appeared to be as sympathetic as was the Secretary of State. But in the meantime certain steps had been taken in South Africa which ran counter altogether to the language of the Secretary of State, and what he believed to be the opinion of the Government of India, and of all classes there.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN desired first to say how greatly Sir William Wedderburn's action in questions of the kind now under discussion made him regret that he should voluntarily have left Parliament, where his voice was always raised on behalf of sound principles in matters of this description. (Hear, hear.) The statement in his paper that the people whose treatment interested them that day were British subjects in British territory was hardly complete, as the rest of the paper had shown. If they were British subjects in British self-governing colonies something might be said for the view that the practice of the Empire did not permit them to interfere in what were regarded as the home concerns of those colonies. But in this case they were dealing with a colony which was governed under direct orders from home, and the case was therefore infinitely stronger. Even in self-governing colonies the Secretary of State for the Colonies had, to some extent, interfered, and protested against a colour bar being instituted in the case of Australia and in the case of British Columbia; and although he did not threaten to veto legislation, yet he had made suggestions with regard to the nature of the legislation to be adopted. It appeared to him to be a disaster to the Empire itself that such principles should be laid down as were attempted to be laid down in the present instance. India had long been treated on broad general principles. She was, for instance, the only portion of the Empire, with the exception of the United Kingdom, which paid her full share towards the expense of conducting the affairs of the Empire as a whole. India had certain light duties upon the importation of textile goods, but she was not allowed to impose those duties in such a manner as to afford the smallest protection to her manufactures, but a compensating Excise was enforced on her. Surely they owed it to themselves to see that the balance was kept even, and that India was equally well treated as regarded the application of general principles throughout the Empire as a whole. To neglect that principle seemed to him to strike a blow at the very root of the whole Imperial connection. It was a matter, therefore, which deserved the attention of those who desired to maintain the fabric of the Empire as it was.

SIR MUNCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE, K.C.I.E., M.P., was certainly not wanting in appreciation of the able manner in which the subject had been treated, nor of the great sympathy and interest evinced by an influential audience like the present on a matter which deeply concerned India for all time, if he ventured to express a little diffidence as to the efficacy of dis-

cussions upon questions like that before them. India and her people could not fail to be grateful to those English friends who were taking such a sympathetic, keen, and genuine interest in a question affecting her best interests from the standpoint of her position in the civilized world. They had been for years working to secure fair treatment of the Indian subjects of His Majesty in the British colonies; and relying, as he had thought they were justified in doing, on the various statements of responsible Ministers of the Crown, they had hoped that some remedy would be found for the appalling grievances complained of; but he now addressed them in a spirit of disappointment, bordering on hopelessness, as to any remedy being effected. Sir William Wedderburn had referred to these statements of Lord Lansdowne, of Mr. Chamberlain, and of Lord Milner. Mr. Chamberlain had indeed spoken very strongly on the subject, and one would have thought that he would have used his great influence to removing those causes of indignity and injustice which were rampant in the colonies, and which were the subject of irritation throughout India. He was afraid that that had not been done. Without stopping to lay the blame on any individual, he would only say that if British Ministers would even now realize what the contentment of the people of India, and the possession of India as a portion of the British Empire for all time, meant to the solidarity of the Empire itself, then it were better that the Ministers of the Crown, to whatever party they belonged, should even go to the length of lopping off that branch of the Empire which insisted on disregarding that potent fact. He believed that the question must be treated once for all as a whole, with regard to all the colonies, because, even if to-day the Colonial Minister were to exercise his temporary authority in order to give some sort of relief to British Indian subjects in the Transvaal only, they knew that within a very short time the Transvaal would be a self-governing colony, and it would then say, "Now we will do what the other colonies are doing, and treat the British-Indian subjects as they have been treated in those colonies," and the whole evil would revive. The Chairman had referred to the argument that nothing could be done in self-governing colonies simply because they were self-governing; but his own opinion was very different. A self-governing colony was not right, and had not the power to undermine all the noblest traditions of the British Constitution. (Hear, hear.) They were entitled to organize their own internal legislation only in consonance with those traditions, but if they denied to 300,000,000 of British subjects those rights which had been guaranteed to them, then the argument as to self-governing colonies fell to the ground, and it was the duty of British Ministers to see that the Indian subjects of His Majesty were protected against those acts of degradation and injustice which they had too long suffered in patience. There was just one ray of light. He had that morning received information from a very high source that the Indian Government had taken up at last a firm stand, and as the result of a conference with delegates from Natal, had insisted upon fair treatment being given to those Indian labourers whom the colonies wanted so much. He had from time to time insisted that India alone could work out her own salvation, and therefore he regarded this attitude

of the Government of India with great satisfaction. The people must rise to a sense of the justice which was their due, and besides calling upon the Government to advocate their cause, they themselves should become missionaries in this cause. They must go from community to community of labourers explaining the situation in which they are placed in South Africa, and do their best to prevent emigration from India until justice was secured to them. (Applause.)

SIR RAYMOND WEST had not come with the intention of speaking on the important subject before the meeting, but rather by his presence to express the strong sympathy he felt with the emotions which had been put into shape by Sir William Wedderburn in relation to their beloved fellow-subjects. He had at various times been consulted on the subject, and he had always said, as the gentleman who last addressed them had said, that in this matter the working out of her own salvation rested to a great extent with India herself. South Africa, and other parts of the world, too, depended to a large extent on Indian labour, and the mutual relations must be worked out on principles applicable to the Empire and the colonies in general. It was of no use to deal with the matter in shreds and patches. He had often appealed to members of the Indian community to become absorbed in that great Imperial spirit which ought to be the bond of union amongst all subjects of His Majesty, to try and make themselves the masters, even the slaves, of that idea of the great traditions of the Empire; to sink their individual and caste prejudices and dissensions, and then they might feel assured that, as the Empire extended and its principles became more and more firmly fixed, there would be a greater and nobler field for them. But now, as a counterblast, came in this peculiar treatment of their Indian fellow-subjects by the South African colonists. Suppose the South African colonies, after receiving aid from Tasmania or South Australia, had responded to that aid by passing a Bill that no Tasmanian should walk on the side-path, or that no one from New South Wales was to be admitted without paying a poll tax, what would the feeling of the Empire have been? Yet what could have been nobler than the conduct of those natives of India who, confined to that humble sphere of activity, still rushed into the midst of the contending armies and carried off the wounded, often at the cost of their own lives, showing a coolness, a bravery, and a devotion which, he believed, had never been surpassed? (Hear, hear.) He thought these matters ought to go home, especially to those colonists who had specially benefited by this devotion. He thought that if an appeal were properly made, they could not, for very shame, continue to maintain their present attitude. It was, no doubt, a survival of a feeling fostered by trade jealousy and race prejudice. It was their business to get over this feeling, to overcome this injustice and prejudice against their Indian fellow-subjects, and to do all in their power to bring them to a level in their opportunities with all other competitors. Of course, the results must depend on the abilities and the capacity for co-operation which existed amongst the different races. The governing body of South Africa were confronted with great difficulties, and they must bear in mind that Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Milner and others had not altogether a free hand. The Transvaal was

closely connected with the neighbouring colonies of Natal and the Cape, and if there were any strong feeling amongst the European population of the Transvaal—a feeling tinged, no doubt, with race prejudice and trade jealousy—they knew that that was a feeling which would be sympathized with in the Cape and in Natal; indeed, the same feeling prevailed in other parts of the Empire. By giving self-government to its colonies, the home Government had put itself to a great extent in the position of losing its own independence. In forming their judgment of Lord Milner and of Mr. Chamberlain's action in dealing with these matters, they must be careful before condemning them. They might often lie on extremely uneasy beds, their consciences and sympathies pulling one way, and the necessities of the situation and of the Empire pulling another way. That, however, was not a reason why they should not express their complete sympathy with Sir William Wedderburn in the noble address he had given them. He felt it a duty to say that, in his opinion, the future of the Empire depended very much on the way in which such questions were treated. The jealousy which existed was not altogether ungrounded on the part of the labouring class and the poorer tradesmen in these colonies. In Mauritius, for instance, the native population was in a position entirely to swamp the European population, and it was natural that people in Natal should have begun to feel a little uneasy, and fear being swamped, too, by an unlimited growth of an Asiatic population. They must have some sympathy with those who did not wish the English race, with its traditions and institutions, to be overwhelmed. There was nothing, as far as he saw, to prevent their conceding to the Indian people, as represented by the Indian Government, the same capacity for dealing with their internal affairs which they conceded to colonies in all parts of the world; and if the Indian people felt that their countrymen were treated with injustice in South Africa, there was no reason why they should not prevent by legislation the emigration of Indians to those colonies. Another possible remedy was the establishment of an Indian colony on the East Coast of Africa governed in the Indian manner. He believed such a colony would in a few years be very flourishing, and would afford a pattern which would do more to shame colonists into good behaviour towards their Asiatic fellow-subjects than any other measure. (Applause.)

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN thought it advisable, as Chairman of the Council of the Association, to express in a few words the attitude of the Association with regard to the question. To no subject had they given greater consideration, or so frequently directed the attention of the Colonial Secretary and the Secretary of State for India. They had urged upon Mr. Chamberlain a few days before his departure from England that he should make particular inquiry into the alleged grievances of their Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa, to which he had returned a sympathetic answer, showing that the matter had his careful consideration. They must appreciate the great difficulties which were in the way of a reasonable settlement by the Colonial Secretary and Lord Milner; but this Association had one clear duty before them, and that was to endeavour to obtain justice for Indian settlers in South Africa, whatever the difficulty or opposition might be.

The horror with which the whole civilized world, and especially England, had regarded the disabilities, cruelties, and insults heaped upon the Jews in the Russian Empire should dispose all Englishmen sympathetically to regard grievances which, if not so severe, were similar in character. The attitude of the Association had always been that their Indian fellow-subjects were in civilization, in loyalty, in high character, and in qualifications for Imperial citizenship the equal of Englishmen, and they insisted that a just and generous treatment should be extended to them in every part of the world under the shadow of the English flag. He agreed with Sir William Wedderburn in the expediency of confining his paper and the arguments of any deputation to the Colonial Secretary to the case of the Transvaal as a Crown colony directly subordinate to the British Government, but it should not be forgotten that the action of the Association concerned all colonies, Crown or self-governing, in which Indian traders might settle. Another point he wished to emphasize, and which he thought was the only one which would weigh for much in the decision of this matter, was this : Knowing something of European colonists, of whom the illiberal majority was not of British origin, and having a less lofty idea of their qualifications than of those of many of the Indian merchants and settlers, and further realizing that their desire was to obtain the highest rate of pay for the smallest expenditure of labour, he did not believe they would ever consent to the introduction, either into Australia or South Africa, of immigrants who were willing to work for less than themselves. The Association had urged the Government of India to prohibit the engagement of indentured coolies for South Africa until Indian merchants and traders, honourable and industrious men, were granted the same freedom and equality that England demanded for all her people, of whatever colour, in every part of His Majesty's dominions. (Hear, hear.) If Lord Curzon were only to threaten to make such an order, and be prepared to enforce it, he thought that the European inhabitants of the Transvaal, of Natal, and other colonies would very quickly realize that it was their best policy to treat the natives of India with justice and equity. (Applause.)

MR. S. S. THORBURN said the proposition at the end of the paper was that a deputation should go to the Colonial Secretary, and urge him not to sanction any anti-Indian legislation until the whole conditions of Indian immigration into South Africa had been elucidated. He thought a little more than that was possible. They must accept as a fact that, as mankind was wholly selfish, and the world was governed by force, wherever there were dominant and subordinate races living in the same country, the former, if they thought their interests prejudiced by the concession of freedom of trade and residence to the latter, would deny those latter fair treatment. They had, then, to consider what it was possible to do. He thought it possible to educate South African whites to the fact that by admitting immigration from India of the right classes, under proper safeguards, of course, their own interests would be benefited. John Bull maintained an army in South Africa of 30,000 soldiers, and each soldier cost £200 a year, and no doubt many-burdened John Bull would not continue for many years to pay six millions a year for the maintenance of a large military garrison

in South Africa. If it were possible, as suggested by Sir Raymond West, to found Indian colonies in South Africa, the garrison and labour difficulties might partly be remedied. One reason why South African whites regarded Indians more or less as blacks and coolies was that the majority of labourers who had gone to South Africa were Southern Indians, dark-skinned, soft, and effeminate. The North of India contained various martial races of husbandmen. If 50,000 such peasant-proprietors and their families were invited to migrate to South Africa upon military terms, he was certain a large number would gladly settle on the veldt, and would soon convert much of it into a garden, and thereby part of the difficulty about garrisoning South Africa would be removed; in addition, the food question would also be solved. There was a large sprinkling of Indians in the room, and he appealed to them whether India herself had done her best to advance her own interests. "Who would be free themselves must strike the blow." Who would have rights themselves must fight for them. He would ask them to do their best to induce district boards and municipal committees, not exactly to agitate, but to use their influence until they got their rights. He suggested that copies of the lecture, and of the discussion following it, should be sent to each municipality and district board in India, and was prepared to contribute his mite for the purpose.

MR. J. D. REES thought it hardly necessary to express satisfaction at hearing India put into its proper place at this meeting in the Imperial system. The population, revenue, and trade of India, and its contribution to the cost of British armaments, were far greater than those of all the colonies put together. It had been stated as a ground for the legislation, to which reference had been made, that South Africa was a white man's country. He had cast about in vain for proof of this, and could only find it in the theory of Sir George Birdwood, who believed that Divine Providence was an Englishman! Indians, when they came to South Africa, would not compete with European labour, but only with such labour as was now done by Africans. Sir William Wedderburn had spoken of the legislation as due to the clamours of Transvaal monopolists. He thought that was a mistake. He understood that the Transvaal monopolists were very anxious to get the Indians, and would be very glad to see them get fair play.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN: I referred not to the gold-mining monopoly, but to the traders.

MR. REES said he quite understood that Indians who did not return to India, were likely to become competitors with others than the coolie class, and, in fact, did so; but so far as the mining interest was concerned, he believed it to be strongly in favour of the importation of Indians, and it should, therefore, be in favour of such treatment as would enable the Indian Government to allow emigration to South Africa without apprehension as to the treatment they would receive.

MR. ROMESH DUTT: There seemed to be a unanimity of opinion as regarded the injustice of the rules which had been promulgated in the Transvaal and other parts of South Africa. Sir William Wedderburn had put the whole thing in a nutshell in quoting the words of Lord Lansdowne himself, who said that the misdeeds of the Transvaal filled him with

indignation. They had heard that Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Milner were not entirely free, and were in a delicate position. But it might be suggested that Mr. Kruger also had his difficulties, and if, in spite of those difficulties, they had condemned his action as a misdeed which filled them with indignation, he thought it only fair that they should endeavour not to commit the same misdeeds. The practical part of the discussion rather tended to a suggestion that, if the colonials would not do justice, it was for India to retaliate; but in that matter the people of India had practically no voice. He did not think that state of things would continue much longer, because it would be found that it was not possible to govern a large population without some degree of self-government. This, however, was a matter into which he did not wish to enter to-day. He thought Indian opinion was unanimous, and if they did not get justice in this matter they ought to retaliate, and to refuse to immigrate to a country where they did not get the rights of subjects of the British Empire. The distinction made between populations of different parts of the British Empire would not go in the long-run to consolidate the British Empire. The British Empire was mainly the Indian Empire. All the white colonies had a white population of about twelve millions as against a population in India of about 230 millions, besides about 60,000 millions in the Native States. All the colonies depended, to a great extent, on England for fiscal help, but India paid all her expenses and something more. It was, therefore, only fair that they should receive justice as citizens in every part of the British Empire.

The HON. SANKARAN NAIR felt that, after so many speakers, it would not be right on his part to waste their time, as he had nothing new to put forward in favour of what Sir William Wedderburn had said. The old Hindu notion that there is one law for one caste and another law for another caste is disappearing. They all knew that the idea was slowly but surely gaining ground in India that there was equality as between all classes of people before the law. But the people returning from South Africa would have a different story to tell, and it would be disastrous if it gets abroad in India that English law does not insist upon equal treatment of all, without any distinction of creed or colour. Further, the final court of appeal is the Privy Council, where they had not only judges from England, Scotland, and Ireland, but, he believed, also judges from South Africa and other parts of the Empire. It is not satisfactory, so far as India, at any rate, is concerned, that laws should be administered by judges coming from parts of the Empire where they do not recognise this equality of all classes in a court of law as a fundamental principle of their system. As to public opinion in India, it has expressed itself on the question with persistence and unanimity.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: I think I may say we are all unanimous on the subject in this country.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, in reply, said he thought Mr. Rees had misunderstood the class of monopolists to which he referred. He did not refer to the mining magnates, who desired Asiatic labour with which to

work the mines, but to the European shopkeepers, who objected to the Indian traders because they competed with them and interfered with their business. It seemed to him that Sir Raymond West's suggestion of Indian colonies was very much in accordance with old Indian traditions. He had served for some time in the district of Rutnaguri, which had been repopulated with colonists who came as an organized village community, and he thought that if the natives of India went to South Africa they should go as organized villages under competent leaders. Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggee had said that they should not deal piecemeal with the latter, but he (Sir William Wedderburn) thought they should find the point of least resistance at the beginning. The great thing was that it should not be thought that the Imperial authorities had condoned race and colour distinctions. They had a strong man at the Colonial Office, and a strong man in India, and he did not feel despairing in the matter. If British opinion declared itself, he had no doubt the British colonists would be made to look at the matter from a broader point of view. He asked to be allowed to propose a vote of thanks to the chairman, Sir Charles Dilke, and also to Sir Lepel Griffin, who had so kindly taken his place.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## THE WESTERN FRONTIERS OF INDIA.

SIR,

1. Your report\* of the discussion following on the reading of Mr. Rees's East India Association paper on the above subject (on March 23) was so promptly printed that I found myself precluded from sending in notes of my own remarks on that occasion. Seeing that the subject itself is as practical now, and even more urgent than it appeared at that time, perhaps I may be allowed to give you a brief summary of what (under difficulties) I had to say at that meeting.

This question of what and where is the Western Frontier of India is one of peculiar practical importance, because it has been so much confused and obscured in recent years. Though Mr. Rees knows the simple truth and fact of the matter as well as anyone—namely, that the line is defined by the western and northern limits of the territories we took over from the Sikh kingdom in 1849—he went off at once to speak of three frontiers, one being, with sublime disregard of geography, the Persian Gulf! There is some excuse for popular misconception of the subject, because of systematic gerrymandering of the maps, as carried on from time to time since the fatal period of 1878-1880. Even in some issued under the authority of the Indian Office itself (pointing to the large map of all Asia exhibited at the meeting) the true western frontier is obscured by the extension of what is called British Beluchistan, the whole of which is outside “the external frontiers of H.M. Indian possessions” as dealt with in the great statute of 1858. All the excursions, occupations, and other transgressions of the frontier that began in 1876 have been into foreign territory, in regions that are foreign to India in every respect—

\* See April number, pp. 395—404.

populations, productions, and climate. Mr. T. R. Buchanan has affirmed in his separate Minute on the Royal Commission, "As the military strength of India itself is the main factor in the strength of our Empire in the East [whatever that may be], that expenditure beyond the true frontier is not an Indian, but an Imperial duty; and India claims that the Imperial exchequer should bear out the cost." Sir Charles Dilke (the chairman) in one passing remark seemed to imply that the cost of fortifications and expeditions outside of India had not been considerable. This is a serious misapprehension. Here in the appendix to a comprehensive speech by Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer (at the last National Indian Congress) is a careful computation of that outside expenditure since 1876, including, besides the cost of the second Afghan War, the strategic railways and roads, expeditions to Gilgit and Chitral in High Asia, and the concomitant increases in Indian Army charges, which show a total of  $71\frac{1}{2}$  crores; but in Colonel Hanna's more exact estimate that extraneous addition to India's financial burdens amounts in that period to the enormous sum of 100 crores.

2. Now as to this subject of the defence of India, about which there has been of late so much mistimed nervousness; this may be partly due to the popular mind having been misled on the subject, as already mentioned, so far that even the Prime Minister himself drifted into such strange misapprehension regarding it in course of the recent army debates in Parliament. But it could only be due to Mr. Balfour's lack of military knowledge when he went on to compare the mountain-barricaded frontiers of India with the level, contiguous boundary lines of European States. Another remark of his showing unacquaintance with the strategic side of the question was to the effect that he "knew of no military authority who had shown how easily defensible India is by reason of these natural barriers." But many must remember that Sir Henry Durand, Sir William Mansfield, and more recently Sir

John Adye, the Field Marshals Donald Stewart, Neville Chamberlain, and even Lord Roberts himself have shown that our only military difficulties arise when we have pushed our troops into the barren mountains *beyond* the Indian frontier. There is no longer any excuse for talking about military perils to our Indian Empire by attack from without, since, in answer to the question, "Can Russia invade India?" Colonel Hanna has demonstrated, to those who understand military dynamics and the physical limits of strategy, that such attempt would involve ruin to any forces that can be organized for such a scheme. And no doubt, notwithstanding the occasional bellicose manifestoes of their subordinates and the bluster of the Petersburg press, Russian commanders of Asiatic experience know this as well as do our Generals who have really studied the subject.

3. Sir Charles Dilke had dropped the remark that, "so long as the Indian frontier is kept where it is, India is in no serious danger." Yes, that is the plain truth of the matter; but since 1876 we have often gone beyond that frontier, and maintained troops in occupied parts outside of India amongst the spikes and thorns of Lord Rosebery's "cactus hedge"; thus we wantonly invite danger, *not* from invaders, but from the fierce Pathan and other tribes whose wretched ravines we have invaded. By far the larger part of Lord Curzon's "New Province" is in those regions.

4. The definition of the western frontiers is a matter of plain physical geography, some parts consisting of the Suleiman range; of crags and gullies in the huge clusters of which the Bolan is the centre, with its impassable granite mountains around; then, on the south, beyond the considerable hills that extend nearly to the sea, are the waterless saline deserts behind the Mekron coast. The northern frontier was absolutely impregnable until, under the Chitral scare, that military road was made through the Bunier and Swat country and over the Malakhand on into Dardistan, thereby offering an invitation to any Power lunatic enough

to try to bring his guns and modern-equipped army through the Hindu Kush. As this question now stands, our statesmen ought to insist that all Indian forces of every kind should be withdrawn within the impregnable boundary lines just indicated. Then, though the Muscovite might rage and our alarmists shriek, India would, so far, be—*Kush*.

W. MARTIN WOOD.

*June, 1903.*

#### INDIAN TAXATION—THE SALT TAX.

SIR,

Can you afford me space to point out what appear to me to be flaws and misconceptions in Sir Charles Roe's otherwise most useful and timely paper on "Indian Taxation"?

The two points in which I am particularly interested are his remarks on the salt tax, and on the memorial presented to the Secretary of State by certain retired officers of the Indian service, of whom I was one.

As to the salt tax, it seems to me that Sir Charles misses the principal objections to it, some of which were so forcibly stated by Sir Charles Dilke in the very debate to which he refers. I have never complained so much of the pecuniary weight of the tax, though it must surely be admitted that reduction in a tax which, at Rs. 2 as. 8 per maund, amounts to at least 4 per cent. on the gross income of the most indigent classes, who never have enough to eat, is better than enhancement. I object to the tax (or, rather, the monopoly) because it prevents the poorest classes from making a little salt for themselves *for nothing* (as they would do if it were not for the preventive service) by evaporating sea-water or boiling down salt earth, and so causes unknown misery by disease amongst men and cattle. No doubt the bulk of the people are scarcely aware of the grievous injury they suffer for want of an unstinted supply of salt; but most educated people ought to know the intimate connection there is between salt and scientific

agriculture, and also how many other industries are strangled by a tax on salt.

It is quite true also that the slight reduction we have heard of since Sir Charles wrote is not likely to be of much benefit to the poorer classes from a pecuniary point of view, and the proportionate cost of collecting the revenue (already excessive) will be considerably enhanced; but to say that the "total abolition would hardly confer any real benefit" on them only shows how superficially the authors of such a conclusion have studied the question. Even pecuniarily it would not be a small thing to be relieved of an income tax amounting to 4 per cent. on an already inadequate income; but the pecuniary harm done by the salt monopoly is quite insignificant in comparison with the indirect evils involved, as I have shown in the *Indian Review* for December last, and more fully in this *Review* for October, 1893. Even a poll tax would be less oppressive.

Happily, I am not alone in the opinion that the monopoly should be abolished altogether. The late Professor Fawcett was not a man to make use of "unscrupulous misrepresentation," and was no more likely to be influenced in his opinions by a desire to secure votes than I am; and even Sir John Gorst and Sir Charles Dilke will be generally allowed the credit of saying what they really mean without fear or favour.

Sir Charles Roe had evidently not seen my suggestion that the 60 millions, who are admitted, even by Mr. Digby, to be really prosperous, should pay the 5 millions themselves, and so bear one of the burdens of their half-starved fellow-citizens. By ignoring the fact that the *family* and not the individual is the proper unit in all these calculations of averages, Sir Charles shows that the tax at Rs. 2 as. 8 per maund only came to 5d. a head or less; but this figure should be multiplied by 4 or 5 to show the real incidence of the taxation on the working member of the family, and even then he will get less than half the salt that is generally considered necessary for health. Moreover, as it is certain

that the 60 millions of prosperous people eat (and waste) more than the full allowance of 25 lbs. a head, it is clear that the indigent must get much less than the average of 13 lbs., or, according to Sir Charles, 10 lbs.

With regard to the recent reduction of the duty and the consequent immediate loss of a million sterling, it is not at all unlikely that the extra consumption consequent on the reduction in price will soon raise the revenue to its present figure again; and that revenue would be nearly double what it is if the people, the cattle, and the fields got as much salt as they ought to have.

The other point in the paper to which I take exception is quite a minor matter, but affects me personally. In speaking of the memorial presented in December, 1900, Sir Charles states (inadvertently) that it was referred to the local governments for report.

Unfortunately, that is not the case; because, if it had been sent to Madras, the mistake made by the Government of India as to the meaning of one passage which has misled Sir Charles could hardly have occurred.

The Government of India assumed that the Memorialists, as well as Mr. Dutt in his individual capacity, recommended the adoption of 20 per cent. of the gross as a basis of assessment. They did nothing of the kind, as is evident, I think, from the wording of the memorial itself, the words being that "the Government demand should be limited to 50 per cent. of the value of the *net* produce after a liberal deduction for cultivation expenses has been made, and *should not ordinarily exceed one-fifth of the gross produce.*" That is to say that, whatever result the half-net principle should produce in practice, no ryot should ever be called upon to pay more than 20 per cent. of his gross produce in any individual case. The idea of making 20 per cent. of the gross the *average* assessment never entered our heads. We only wanted to make sure that in future no one should ever pay *more*, as it is unfortunately notorious that many in Madras do now, partly, perhaps, because it has been

generally assumed that 50 per cent. of the net is about equivalent to 30 per cent. of the gross.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

*June, 1903.*

#### INDIAN POVERTY.

SIR,

Mr. Digby, of "Prosperous British India" fame, is still unsilenced by the recent reply of the Government of India, and has returned to the charge in a pamphlet called the "Food of the People of India." In this he complains that prices are much higher now than they were forty years ago; in fact, they are now what were then famine prices. He infers that the people of India are alarmed; they have not enough to eat. He calls them too patient under these conditions, and seems to think that the Madras agriculturist earns something like  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a day. I have lived a good many years in India, and my business has been to deal with land revenue, and fix people's income for purposes of income-tax, and generally to collect the kind of statistics which are used by Digby and his like. I have lived much alone among the people, and know their language. I therefore have a fair knowledge of their incomes and general economic conditions, and venture to think I know as much as Mr. Digby, who, I believe, has not seen much of the people since 1877, and who, perhaps, never was able to get information from other than the English-speaking inhabitants.

With such knowledge as I have, I venture to assert that Mr. Digby's income of under 1d. a day, which he says is about the average of the whole country, is, in reality, the income of the bottom man or landless day-labourer, and his whole agitation about the too patient poverty of the people is as absurd as if I were to assert that because in this country I pay my gardener 3s. a day, 3s. a day is the average income per head in England of the whole population. The Indian coolie earns  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. or 3d. a day. If he works twenty-five days a month, he earns 5s. a month at least. His wife may earn 2s. and a child 1s. He may have, perhaps, a non-working child and an old mother in his house. The family of five persons will earn an income of 8s. a month, or 6 rupees. This gives an income per head of 1s. 7d. a month, or between  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a day. It is quite true that the bottom man earns this small sum. How Mr. Digby makes out it is the average income of the whole country I do not know, since the bottom man is only a small portion of the population. I know that various people have tried to estimate the average income per head, but I contend that all such attempts are really vain. The thing cannot be done. We know fairly well the outturn of land, and as a result of many conversations with the people in their own language, and of many cuttings and measurings of crops, I say that the ryot in ordinary season gets off his land produce worth about ten times the revenue he pays to Government. Ryots can ordinarily sublet their land for four times the Government revenue, or if they are paid in kind they will get half the gross produce, they paying the Government demand, and the sub-tenant the cost of cultivation. I know that money

invested in land is ordinarily expected to return at least 6 per cent., and that land has a good value, some good irrigated lands which pay 18 or 20 rupees an acre being worth 1,000 or 1,200 rupees an acre. I know that ryots who pay 50 rupees a year on their land are ordinarily well-to-do men, living in substantial houses and owning good cattle, and I know that in the villages good tiled houses are replacing the old thatched ones, and many European articles, such as lamps and chairs, are forthcoming in the remotest and most unlikely places. I infer that the agriculturist does not after all do so badly, and this inference is supported by the fact that even when to my knowledge crops have totally failed, and I have given work to the bottom men, the landowners have had resources enough to live on without—except in rare instances—coming on my works. In short, I know from living among them for years that the agriculturists are well off, unless rains fail. I do not know their exact incomes, but I know them approximately. But I have nothing worth being called knowledge of the incomes of merchants, and lawyers, and petty traders, and artisans, and the various folk who in a thousand curious ways pick up a sufficient living. I am therefore disposed to deny entirely that an estimate approaching truth can be made of the average income in India. That of the bottom man can be fixed accurately: it is  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. roughly a day. The average of the country must greatly exceed that of the bottom man. Therefore Mr. Digby is hopelessly wrong. But if the bottom man and his family do earn only 6 rupees a month, it is enough for them to live in luxury in good seasons and to maintain health in bad ones if they can get the income.

A family of five require only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  seers of grain a day to live well. Grain in a good season sells at about 30 seers a rupee. Thus 4 rupees or so find grain enough for a month. Fuel costs nothing, clothes only some 5 rupees a year; the house is a mud thatched hut, which the family build themselves; condiments cost a rupee a month. The 6 rupees give all they need and all they have ever had; and if the whole land assessment were remitted to-morrow, and all the money was sent to England as interest, pensions, pay, and payment for goods supplied were not sent, but given back to the tax-payers, how would the bottom man be any better off? For he pays no taxes, save on salt. In famine times when grain is dear, the bottom man has short commons necessarily. So he has in all countries. But in by no means all countries is work provided for him by the State as soon as his battles begin.

Now, Mr. Digby complains of the modern rise in prices. It is true that years ago, when there were no roads and railways, grain would sell very cheap in one district and very dear in another. Now prices are rapidly levelled all over the country. Famine up north means riches down south, and *vice versa*, whereas formerly famine up north meant death there and no better prices down south, because the food could not travel to whom it was wanted. I believe the Digby school even complain of this, and make railways a grievance. But when they complain of modern high prices, one can believe anything of them. Surely modern high prices are one of the indications of the prosperity of the country. They are due to modern plentifulness of money. Vast amounts of capital have entered India

in the last forty years ; money is far more common than it used to be, and therefore prices are permanently higher. The Digby school are compelled to admit this, because another of their interesting statements is that the recent famines in India have not been food famines, but money famines. Now, a money famine means low prices. If rupees are scarce you can get much grain for one rupee. If rupees are common you must give more rupees for less grain. There is no getting round this simple fact. Even Dutt and Digby cannot have it both ways. They cannot have high prices and a money famine at the same time, there being always, as they admit, sufficient food in the country. Prices are permanently higher than they were forty years ago, owing to plentifulness of money. They rise at times to modern famine rates—about 12 seers the rupee, I think—owing to failure of rain here and there, and consequent failure of crops. A money famine no doubt follows a failure of crops among the crop owners, because the crop is not there to be sold for cash, and among the bottom men because no crops mean no work, and no work means no pay, not only in India, but in all other parts of the world.

Many folk who seek famous authorities on Indian matters seem lacking sadly both in knowledge and in

COMMON-SENSE.

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#### THE INDIAN "PHANTOM."

It has been said that there is nothing more misleading than facts, unless it be figures. The reason is not far to seek. Both are often considered in the abstract, apart from that setting of surroundings and circumstances without which they do not exist in nature ; and, when they are thus presented, they commonly produce an impression as different from that caused by the reality as would Sir Joshua Reynolds if, instead of portraying the features of one of his famous beauties, he had given the world a picture of the bones forming her skeleton.

Such was the office performed some years ago for the administrative results in a certain region by an insufficient statement of facts and figures. Its units were placed without comment beside the tens of its neighbours, its tens beside their hundreds, etc., and very sorry indeed was the appearance thus lent it. Had due attention, on the other hand, been drawn to the smallness of the area involved, and a comparison been instituted between percentages, it would have been found that the units and tens left the larger numbers far behind as regards intensity, and that the condemnation called forth by the incomplete exposition of the case was signally unjust. Statistics, in fact, may easily be so handled as to prove the reverse of the truth ; it is therefore indispensable, before their testimony is accepted, to make quite sure that they faithfully indicate actual conditions.

This, it may be gathered from the comments of men who claim a special acquaintance with the subject, is precisely what is not done by the figures upon which Mr. William Digby so strenuously insists ; nay, warrant for the same inference is to be found in his own writings. In the April

number of this *Review*, for instance, he speaks of "the beggar's dole in an English street, which is many times repeated for him in the course of a single day, or the day would prove a bad day indeed for him" (p. 343). Even assuming, for the purpose of argument, all that Mr. Digby here implies as to the minimum number of pence requisite for the British beggar, it by no means follows that his wants can be taken as a standard of comparison with those of people in India. On the contrary, there are differences between the two countries so enormous as to make the conditions entirely dissimilar, so that one cannot argue indiscriminately from one to the other. Mr. Digby should take into account, amongst other things, that the English climate is much more exacting than the Indian in the matter of diet, clothing, and shelter. What of the scale of prices, too? Possibly there are places in South Africa where a beggar would at present require at least as many silver coins as he would coppers in England, "or the day would prove a bad day indeed for him"; but nothing can be deduced from the greater cost of living in the Transvaal as to the poverty or otherwise of the inhabitants of the British Isles.

Mr. Digby would be much more convincing if he were to show that he gives due weight to all the elements in the problem—the influence of hygienic conditions, say, upon the relative mortality in India and elsewhere; the part played in Indian poverty by the cutting down of forests in former times, which has left extensive regions entirely dependent for moisture upon the fickle favours of the monsoons; the efforts made by the authorities to fight famine and pestilence, as compared with those of the rulers of yore; and the like. A dispassionate and temperate review of the situation by one who has busied himself so long with the subject, and should, therefore, be an authority upon it, coupled with practical suggestions as to the best way of remedying the defects in present methods or as to possible alternatives, must have the greater value for those who cannot pretend to be experts, yet would fain see the peninsula flourish, and, if it lies in their power, contribute towards that end. And it might have a still more important result. Why should it not be the first step towards Mr. Digby's ideal of a series of conferences between those best qualified to devise improvements in the state of things he complains of?

June, 1903.

R. G. CORBET.

#### THE CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT HAMBURG.

SIR,

The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1903, contains a report of Professor Dr. R. Montet on the Congress of Orientalists held at Hamburg in September, 1902. On p. 102 a paper is mentioned which was read by me at the Congress, and the subject of which is given as "The Principal Reforms in Chinese Writing at the End of the Nineteenth Century." I beg to inform you that the title of the paper, which was read in German, was: "Die wichtigsten Chinesischen Reformschriften von Ende der XIX. Jahrhunderts," which would be in English "The Principal Chinese Reform Writings of the End of the Nineteenth Cen-

ture"—i.e., the principal works of the Chinese Reform literature of the end of the nineteenth century.

I should feel obliged if you would take notice of this correction in your esteemed magazine.

O. FRANKE, PH.D.

15, Saarstr.,  
Friedman, Berlin,  
April 2, 1903.

### THE SILVER QUESTION.

SIR,

I see the article on "Indian Currency Legislation" in your April number\* mentions the very slim and stale old chestnut that silver was demonetized because it was being turned out from the mines in an apparently inexhaustible stream, the increase of the output of gold being relatively small, and so the value of silver bullion in terms of gold fell steadily as the supply of silver bullion increased in volume. The fact of the matter is that silver was demonetized because the money peddler, he of the present day who is a more or less offensive Shylock, could not control it; but at the time it was slaughtered in the United States, if you wanted to send value in bullion out of that country, it was more profitable to get silver dollars and ship them, because they were then worth 3 per cent. more than gold. The silver dollar is and has been, since the United States became independent, the unit of value; and the reason why it was discarded, the reason why the people's money of nearly one hundred years was cast out, was that its position as the money of the common people did not suit the speculator, for it was the work of the money peddler, not the financier, for he is a *rara avis* amongst them, who wished to start banks and issue paper. They are at work now, trying to have their issue of paper extended not only to cover the full amount of bonds deposited in the United States Treasury, but to the full value of their assets, instead of, as at present, up to 90 per cent. of the par value of these bonds. This practically means that they want to return to the original wild-cat bank schemes, which the majority of the present American generation have heard of, but not, fortunately for them, participated in. And the people, you may be sure, do not want this, but the whole trend of the money peddler is for that result. A National Bank is no more secure for depositors than any other bank, but its paper is at present backed by United States bonds. If a National Bank fails, and you hold its paper, you are secure; but if you are a depositor, you may get a percentage out of the wreck and you may not. If the assets were fully covered by paper, you, whether depositor or holder, would be on the wrong side of the fence. If the National Bank paper is backed by Government bonds, are they better than if the Government issued the paper itself? And if the Government bonds rest on the credit of the United States, and the paper not bearing interest has the same backing, why was it necessary to issue bonds at all and make the people pay interest on them? The scheme

\* See pp. 315-338.

looks very much like a fraud, for when you consider that any amount of these bonds were bought by depreciated paper at par value, and when the depreciation of that paper was the work of the money peddler, one would say that it not only seems a fraud, but is one. In the early fifties of the last century, there seemed to be a likelihood of gold being mined to an unlimited extent, and in view of that the money peddler of that day was proposing that it should be demonetized, because, in case it were as they apprehended, they could not control it. The money which was good enough to pay the United States soldier, who marched, fought, and died to preserve the Union, was not good enough for the money peddler, who backed the contractors that furnished the soldier with shoddy blankets, paper shoes, and stinking meat. Gold had vanished, as it always has when danger is nigh, and the wonderful paper issued by the Government paid the men, bought the guns, and saved the integrity of the country. At first it was issued without any proviso, but the money peddler again showed his hand, and it was discredited, at his behest, by its own maker, the United States Government, who refused its own paper in payment of import duties, and thus the patriotic money peddler paraded his own country as a "dirty bird fouling its own nest." A great many Americans think, no doubt, that the scheme is new, but it is not so; for during the Napoleonic wars of the latter part of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries the John Bull money peddler robbed his country with as equally impartial a rascality as his cousin Jonathan did in his wars, and gold, as usual, hid away during the fight. Some people call the money peddlers "gold bugs," which sounds rather slangy, but the euphemious term is "monometalist." I remember—I think it was in *To-Day*, a weekly still published in London—that some years ago a premium was offered for a concise expression for a "monometalist." I sent the following reply: "A monometalist is a professional financial thief." I need not say I did not get any premium. Of course, when silver was so villainously slaughtered in this country, which was and is still its greatest producer, one country after another went in for a gold standard, Germany amongst the rest; and I really believe if the truth were known, if the peoples in these countries knew enough about silver and of the lies that have been manufactured by the money peddler regarding it, they would demand a return to the white metal, which is essentially the money of the common people of all countries, and more especially those of Asia, and of them India and China the most prominent. It would hardly be right to say that the closing of the mints in India, and the robbing the people there of half their assets, is wholly on the head of the Indian Government; for it could not help itself, as it had to jump the gold-hole like the other sheep. They are trying to make Mexico cut its own throat and adopt a gold standard, but those who wish that country well will hope that the peddlers will not succeed. The reason why silver depreciated in value is not because of its excessive supply, but because it was thrown out of circulation as money, and not on account of overproduction. The same thing would have happened to gold had the conditions been reversed. There is one thing very noticeable about the

silver question. If an opinion were wanted, and a proposition was made to get the consensus of the silver men, the money peddler would protest in the strongest terms; but let the question be upon finance, and the very men, the money peddlers whose business is to rob the people to the fullest extent, are not only taken into the conclave, but they are the whole conclave itself. If you wanted an impartial opinion on the acts of fishermen who were trying to foist stinking fish on the people, you would not go to them; their opinion would not be considered impartial. But when you want an opinion on the money peddling you go to the very men that are in the very midst of the robbing scheme for it. In conclusion, the money peddler's God is spelled different from the usual way. It is gold—God, with an “l” in it. Yes, indeed, an “el” for the common people, which would be more vigorously demonstrated by having before it the aspirate of the Whitechapel costermonger or that of a Greek, who would tell you the name of his country in his own language.

R. A. SKUES, C.E.

Gunnison, Colorado,  
United States,  
*June, 1903.*

#### FAMINE COMMISSION.

SIR,

I have been informed by Mr. Jehángir K. Kábráji, late Acting Collector in Khandesh, that he was not in charge of that Collectorate during the three months in which no steps were taken to relieve the starving Bhils pending receipt of an answer to a report to Government describing their condition in consequence of the famine of 1899-1900, a proceeding which I set down in my article of October last in this *Review* to lack of promptitude on the part of a native of India to accept responsibility. My writing in this manner arose simply from a perusal of the evidence he himself gave before Sir A. Macdonell's Famine Commission, in which he apparently took upon himself all responsibility for the course followed. I have written to him to apologize for the mistake I made, and shall feel obliged if you will also publish this letter in the *Review*.

Yours faithfully,

A. ROGERS.

38, Clanricarde Gardens,  
*April 11, 1903.*

#### THE FUNERAL ELEGY OF THE SIAMESE.

(*Translated from the Páli by Lieutenant-Colonel Gerini.*)

REVERENCE TO THE BLESSED, THE HOLY, THE ALL-WISE.

1. All sentient beings are doomed to die, for life indeed terminates in death; even after having reached old age there comes death: such is the nature of sentient beings.

2. Whether young or adult, whether fool or wise, all fall under the dominion of death, all are subject to death.

3. Just as the seed in the field germinates and grows on account of both the moisture of the soil and the vital principle in the embryo.

4. So do the elementary and composite forms of the organized being and the six organs of sense arise from a cause, and from a cause become dis-integrated and perish.

5. For, whereas the union of the constituent parts of the limbs forms what is called "chariot," so does the union of the elements and attributes of being form what is termed a "sentient being."

6. And as soon as vitality, warmth, and consciousness forsake the body, then the body lies inanimate and is out of use.

7. The deeper one considers and meditates upon this body, the more he becomes convinced that it is but an empty and vain thing.

8. For, indeed, in it does Suffering originate and in it Suffering does perdure and perish; nothing else but Suffering is produced, and nothing else but Suffering perishes with it.

9. "All composite things are transitory," he who knows and comprehends this becomes nauseated with Suffering; this is the path that leads to Purity.

10. "All composite things are intolerable," he who knows and sees this becomes nauseated with Suffering; this is the path that leads to Purity.

11. "All elemental things are not one's self," he who knows and sees this becomes nauseated with Suffering; this is the path that leads to Purity.

12. Therefore let one, after hearing the words of the Holy One, restrain his mourning; let him, on seeing that one has passed away and is dead, conclude: "Nevermore will he be found by me."

#### THE LATE PROFESSOR E. B. COWELL, OF CAMBRIDGE.

We are informed that Mr. George Cowell, cousin of the late Professor Cowell, of Cambridge, is editing his "Life and Letters," which will be published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., London. Mr. Cowell is anxious to obtain the loan of letters which may have been received from the late Professor, so that, as far as possible, his life may be written almost in his own words. Mr. Cowell thinks there are many old pupils among our readers who would willingly and gladly help to make the book interesting and complete. Any reminiscences of Professor Cowell's life in India or elsewhere would also be very acceptable. Mr. Cowell will take care of and return any papers that may be entrusted to him. His address is 24, Harrington Gardens, London, S.W.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW YORK, 1902; MACMILLANS,  
AGENTS.

1. *China and the Chinese*, by H. A. GILES, LL.D., Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge, etc. This handy book of 200 odd pages covers six lectures delivered by the learned professor during March, 1902, at Columbia University, which establishment has now followed up its inauguration of a Chinese foundation at that date by appointing Dr. Frederick Hirth, of Munich, to the permanent professorship. The author tells us in his short preface that "it is not pretended that Chinese scholarship will be in any way advanced by this publication"; this being so, it is unnecessary to be hypercritical with a well-known and vivid writer, whose tastes lie rather in the direction of brilliant literary effect than in that of close scientific research. One of the six chapters is devoted to the subject of Taoism, in connection with which thorny question the author took up a very strong antagonistic line seventeen years ago. Though his views as to the authenticity of the celebrated *Tao-Wh-King* are quite contrary to the ripe judgments of Faber, Wylie, Legge, Chalmers, and other distinguished sinologists of the historical school now deceased, and have been shown by them to be quite untenable, he here repeats most of his original arguments, which are based on evidence, so far as it is evidence, chiefly of the negative type. It must be admitted, however, that the iconoclast of sinology, the imaginative and popular Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, accords his hearty support to the damaging views of the Cambridge professor. In Professor Giles's commercial chapter he makes the singular statement that the notorious *likin* tax was "originally one-tenth per cent. on all sales, voluntarily imposed upon themselves by the people, among whom it was at first very popular," a definition in every particular very wide of the mark. Notwithstanding these and a few other *opinions tout-à-fait speciales*, the lectures are very readable, if only on purely literary grounds. It may be pointed out that the curious coincidence about the Greek and Chinese *ides* and *kalends*, noted on p. 135, was suggested by the writer of this notice in the *China Mail* twenty-five years ago.—E. H. PARKER.

FRASER AND NEAVE, LTD.; SINGAPORE, 1892.

2. *An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore*, by CHARLES BURTON BUCKLEY. With portraits and illustrations. In two volumes of 790 pages, and index of 22 pages. These volumes are composed of a minute history and incidents in connection with Singapore from the foundation of the settlement under the East India Company on February 6, 1819, to the transfer to the Colonial Office as part of the colonial possessions of the Crown on April 1, 1867. The history has been in progress

during twenty years, and is derived from articles which have appeared from time to time in the public press and other sources of information. The author has bestowed great trouble in making the narrative as correct as possible. It will be specially interesting to those who have associations in business or otherwise with Singapore, and the details given can never be collected again in such minuteness. The rise and progress of the place are remarkable. The author says: "There is no other place probably that has attained in so short a time the same wonderful prosperity. Singapore has a record of the details—even to unimportant matters—of its growth from its very birth, and through babyhood and boyhood up to manhood, and for this reason also it seemed to me better to err on the side of including too much rather than to omit any information that was still to be found. It may be that it is only Singapore that has the materials still available for such a record, and as the place continues to grow so may the contents of such a book continue to be of interest."

The author with great patience and labour has done his work well, and merits the highest commendation from the public. The illustrations consist of a facsimile of the treaty of February 6, 1819; a bust of Sir Stamford Raffles; a photograph of the original agreement of January 30, 1819, from the archives in Johore; a portrait of Admiral Sir Henry Keppel and many other prominent men connected with the rise and progress of the island; and several well-executed maps and representations of places. The volumes contain fifty-seven chapters arranged chronologically year by year down to 1867. From the extent of the index every fact of any importance can easily be found.

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KELLY AND WALSH, LTD., SINGAPORE, HONG KONG, SHANGHAI, AND YOKOHAMA; and MESSRS. SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO., LONDON, 1902.

3. *A Malay-English Dictionary*, by R. J. WILKINSON, Straits Settlements Civil Service. Part II. (Sin to Nya). The first part of this valuable work was published in 1901, and was reviewed in our issue of July of that year. It is notified that a third part will be published later on containing the Index, various appendices, and introductory articles and addenda, for which, to subscribers, no extra charge will be made. £2 10s. is the price of the complete work. We give a few specimens showing the manner of printing and treatment of words, terms, and phrases.

*Sambut*, Sambut. The reception, by a stationary person or object of a person or object coming to it—e.g., as a host receives a guest or as a house receives its new occupants. *Surat raja China itu di-sambut dengan isti'adat Kerajaan*: the Emperor of China's letter was received with royal honours: Sej. Mal., 36. *Tiyada harus orang yang di-sambut uléh orang lain berjalan dahulu, melainkan yang menyambut membawa jalan*: it is not fitting that the person received (the guest) should walk in front, but rather that the person receiving (the host) should lead the way; Cr. Gr., 33. *Gigi s.*: overlapping lower teeth—an expression used to describe the case of persons born with the teeth of the lower jaw shutting down outside

the teeth of the upper jaw instead of the reverse, which is usual. This peculiarity is deemed a mark of distinction, if not of beauty, by Malays. *Sambutan*: junction. *Sambut*: to receive. *Di-sambuti pula oleh belukar yang berisi berbagai-bagai ular*: he was next received into a forest full of all kinds of snakes; Ht. Gul. Bak., 30. *Bersambutan*: adjoining, in conjunction with. *Taman bersambutan dengan-nya balai*: a pleasure-ground with its own pavilion attached to it; Sh. Sri. Ben., 48. *Bulan dengan bintang bersambut-sambutan*: the moon exchanging meetings (i.e., visits) with the stars; Sh. Bur. Pungg., *Menyambut*: to receive. *M. Tangan*: to accept a proffered hand; Ht. Abd., 109. *Menyambutkan*: to receive; Sh. Abd. Mk., 128. *Penyambut*: a prop placed below a house when the pillars or flooring-planks are weak and further support is necessary.

كوكوك, Kokoḵ or Kukoḵ. The crowing of a cock. *Berkukok*: to crow. *Ayam pun berkukok hampirlah siyang*: the cock crowed; day was at hand; Ht. Abd., 262. *Maudong pun sudah berkukok ramai*: the cocks were crowing in large numbers; Ht. Ind. Meng. *Masok Kawan ayam berkukok*: when you enter a company of cocks, crow; do at Rome as the Romans do; Prov., Ht. Raj. Don., 14. *Sa-ekor ayam ta'-berkukok hari ta'-siyang-kah*: if not a single cock crows will daylight fail to appear; Prov. *K. belemak* is used with the meaning "owl" or "plaintive note of the owl;" Ht. Sg. Samb. (*suwara-nya menangis saperti K. belemak*) II. To carry pick-a-back. Pronounced *ko'ko'*.

مولا, muka. The face; the countenance; the visage; the front; the proper surface or side that should face you. *Saperti talam duwa muka*: like a tray of which either side can be used; double-faced; treacherous; Prov., J. S. AS., II., 139. *Tarek muka duwa-belas*: to pull a long face (literally, to pull twelve faces); Prov. *Muka hendak naik Kepala*: the face wishes to get to the top of the head; you wish to go too far; Prov. *M. papan*: brazen-faced; impudence. *M. manis*: a pleasant and kindly countenance; a sympathetic expression; Ht. Abd., 7, 15. *Muka-nya lebar*: his face was broad; Ht. Abd., 328. *Di-muka pintu*: before the gate; in front of the door; Ht. Abd., 58. *M. surat*: a page; Ht. Abd., 343. *Orang inggeris yang puteh muka-nya*: those of the English who had white faces (i.e., faces not reddened by intoxication); Ht. Abd., 82. *Mengadap*: to face. *Arang di-muka*: coal smeared on the face) by metaphor; defilement; insult; affront; Cr. Gr., 63. *Arang yang terchonteng di-muka*: id.; Ht. Abd., 396. *Alang m.*: the place in front of the captain's cabin in a Malay ship. *Ayer m.*: complexion; expression. *Aku binasakan ayer muka-nya*: I shall spoil his expression for him; Ht. Hanz., 44. *Ayer muka-nya manis*: he had a kindly expression. *Chehaya m.*: the light of the countenance; the look. *Berseri-lah chehaya muka-nya*: his countenance cleared; Ht. Abd., 222. *Masam m.*: sulkiness of expression; sourness. *Muka-m.*: airs; feigned feelings; hypocritical airs. *Ada yang menangis pura-pura sebab muka-muka supaya di-Ketahuwi orang iya bersahabat dengan raja*: some pretended to weep for the sake of appearances, in order that men might know that they were on friendly terms with the (departing) Governor; Ht. Abd., 291. *Di-buwat-nya muka-*

*muka*: to make hypocritical advances (to a hated enemy); Ht. Abd., 407  
*Muka suwara hamba ini bukan-nya bermuka-muka sa-benar-benar-nya dengan suchi hati*: our words are not uttered in insincerity, but are truly and honestly meant; Bint. Tim., April 4, 1895. *Seri m.*: (1) the charm of the countenance; (2) a name given to a sweetmeat made of *javwi* flour and coco-nut milk. *Bergerak ufong sanggul naik seri muka*: whenever the loose end of her braided tresses trembles, new charms arise in her face; Cr.

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON; NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY.

4. *The India of the Queen, and other Essays*, by the late Sir WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., etc. Edited by LADY HUNTER, with an Introduction by FRANCIS HENRY SKRINE, Indian Civil Service (retired). The volume is dedicated by Lady Hunter in memory of the author, "who loved the races of India, and ever strove to reveal their needs and aspirations to his countrymen." It contains essays, papers, and lectures which appeared from time to time in the *Times* and leading magazines or periodicals, with an admirable introduction by Mr. Skrine. The subjects of these essays are "The India of the Queen" (which appeared in the *Times* between November 4 and December 8, 1887); "Popular Movements in India" (the *Contemporary Review*, February, 1891); "The Ruin of Aurangzeb; or, the History of a Reaction" (*Nineteenth Century*, May, 1887); "England's Work in India"—(1) "the work done, (2) the work to be done" (lectures delivered at the Philosophical Institution in Edinburgh, 1879-1880); "A River of Ruined Capitals" (*Nineteenth Century*, January, 1888); "Our Missionaries" (*Nineteenth Century*, July, 1888); "A Forgotten Oxford Movement" (*Fortnightly Review*, May, 1896); "A Pilgrim Scholar" (Csoma de Kőrös), (in the *Pioneer*, Allahabad, 1885). These essays, now collected together in one volume, will be read with as fresh an interest and pleasure as they were when they first appeared in so many quarters. As Mr. Skrine quotes, the words of their distinguished author, "I do love these Indian races so much, and I do so long to obtain a hearing for India in Europe." This publication will promote still further the patriotic object Sir William Hunter had in view—viz., "first to enable England to learn India's wants; next to help England to think fairly of India; and, finally, to make the world feel the beauty and pathos of Indian life." Great progress had since been made, in a variety of forms and ways, in education, in administration, in the extension of British influence, and in the prosperity of the country. "The princes have gained a loftier sense of duty towards their subjects, and of loyalty to the paramount power," as exhibited by the Delhi Durbar, and he has inspired Hunter's countrymen with a sentiment of India's potentialities and grandeur. Had he survived to take part in that pageant he would have seen the result of his teachings and writings.

C. A. K. has adorned this most interesting volume with the following beautiful "In Memoriam" of the author:

"The Orient touched him with her magic wand ;  
 She bade him labour in her boundless field ;  
 Straight went he forth—he could not choose but yield—  
 Submissive to her dominant command.  
 Then wrought with strenuous will, untiring hand,  
 Till her fair features (in dark mists concealed),  
 Her splendour, and her pathos flashed revealed  
 By his transcendent life-work, nobly planned.

"For him the peace, for those he loved the pain,  
 Who yet shall surely see him (but not here !),  
 Whose name is worthy of a worthier strain ;  
 Yet be it mine, who hold thy memory dear,  
 To lay this frail song-violet on thy bier,  
 Master, of genial heart and subtle brain."

There is one desideratum—that is, an Index.

5. *The Land of the Boxers*, by CAPTAIN GORDON CASSERLY, Indian Army. There is nothing in the way of fact or thought at all new in this book, which tells us of the author's experiences with the Allied Forces at Tientsin, Peking, Wei-hai-Wei, Shan-hai Kwan, etc., and then gives some eye-witness account of Hong Kong, Macao, Canton, and a few Chinese places on the contiguous mainland. Perhaps the most carefully written, thoughtful, and interesting chapters are those which deal with the merits and demerits of the rival armies. It is pleasant to read of the many excellent qualities possessed by our new allies the brave Japanese, and of their friendly fraternizing with the Indian and Ghoorkha troops. The jovial camaraderie of the Russians covers a multitude of diplomatic sins, and the free-and-easy bearing of the lax-disciplined Americans counts for much less than their gallantry and resourcefulness. Neither the French nor the Germans come in for many compliments, but, whilst the French officers at least leave an occasional good impression by their courtesy, the stiff frigidity of the Germans makes us feel that their room must have usually been preferable to their company as social mates. However, at the critical time of extreme danger, we all had to fight in one common cause for better or for worse, and very likely we ourselves (including our gallant but peppery author, who seems to have run foul of Japanese, Portuguese, and several other nationalities in impartial turn) very probably often left behind disagreeable impressions of bumptiousness, brusqueness, and want of tactful courtesy. This was the first public appearance of the Germans in "company," and doubtless they will be all the better for the rubbing of shoulders together. At one moment Captain Casserly bewails our tenderness for inferior races, and contrasts it unfavourably with the energy and summariness of the French and Portuguese; but towards the end of the story his conscience seems to prick him, and he is inclined to lament the unfairness and bullying with which we have one and all of us deprived poor helpless China of her power, her dignity, and her common human rights. The book is frankly and agreeably written, and is at least no worse than the dozens of similar personal experiences with which the reading public has recently been regaled.—E. H. PARKER.

LUZAC AND CO. ; GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1902.

6. *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by the late E. J. W. GIBB, M.R.A.S. Vol. II. Edited by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B. ; SIR THOMAS ADAMS, Professor of Arabic, and Fellow of Pembroke College in the University of Cambridge.

We had the pleasure of inserting a notice of the first volume of this important work in our issue of July, 1901, pp. 209-210. Since that time the author has died, and Professor Browne has undertaken the task of editing the present volume, and we hope he will continue to edit the volumes that may follow. We may reiterate what we said with respect to Vol. I.—“that the object of the learned and acute author is to bring into prominence that aspect of the subject which has been left comparatively unnoticed by Von Hammer. He traces in a methodical manner the successive phases through which Ottoman poetry has passed. He endeavours, with success, to trace the influences which have brought these about, and thus he presents an interesting panorama of the use and progress, both ancient and modern, of Ottoman poetry, and places within the reach of English readers the account of a literature which has been scarcely touched by any English writer.” The present volume opens with Book III., embracing the second period, A.D. 1450-1600, and is composed of fifteen chapters, with an Appendix A, the hierarchy of the “Ulema,” Appendix B, the first lines of the Turkish texts of the poems translated in the present volume, and indexes of contents of the present and the former volume ; also the author’s preface to the volume, and a most interesting sketch of the author and his library, by the learned editor, in which he says : “The sympathy and understanding of the people is the keynote of Gibb’s work.” He both liked and understood the Turks, and though thoroughly alive to the defects of their national character and literature, he believed equally thoroughly in their sterling virtues and future potentialities. How complete was his mastery of their language and literature is abundantly attested by the spontaneous evidence of Turkish men of letters, one of whom asserts that “neither in the Ottoman Empire, nor amongst the Orientalists of Europe, does anyone exist who has more profoundly studied the Ottoman language and literature than he.” We hope the subsequent volumes may be speedily published.

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MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON ; NEW YORK, THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1903.

7. *India : Its Administration and Progress*, by SIR JOHN STRACHEY, G.C.S.I. Third edition, revised and enlarged. The author of this admirable work had given in 1844 a course of lectures on subjects connected with India, before the University of Cambridge, which formed the basis of the first edition of the work. Between that time and 1894 a second edition, revised and extended, appeared, embracing the changes which had taken place in the constitution of the Indian Legislatures, in the organization of the Civil Service and the army, and in other branches of the administration, and the progress of the country in wealth and material prosperity. The additional changes that have taken place from that time to this have given

rise to the present edition, introducing matter of much importance, so that the volume now consists of 500 pages. Parts of the work have been entirely rewritten, and its original title, *India*, has been altered to the present title, accompanied with an excellent map, also brought up to date. Sir John truly says in his preface that, "whatever may have been done by Viceroys and Governors and great commanders, the soldiers and civilians, whose names have hardly been heard of in England, have done much more in building up the splendid fabric of our Indian Empire. It is by the everyday work of administration that the real foundations of our power have been maintained and strengthened, and the steady progress of the country has been secured. It is, indeed, to that part of their lives that Indian officials, like my brother (General Sir Richard Strachey) and myself, actively concerned, although we have been in the work of the Central Government, look back with perhaps the greatest interest. We may be forgiven if we take pride in remembering that during the last century and a half four generations of our family have given to India the best portion of their lives."

Among the twenty-five chapters in which the work is divided the more prominent are : The Constitution of the Government of India ; The Home Government ; The Civil Services ; The Laws and the Administration of Justice ; The Finances and Public Revenues ; Revenues other than those derived from Taxation ; Foreign Trade—Home Charges, Currency, Weights and Measures ; Public Works—Famine ; the Public Debt—Famine ; Education—Races, Languages, Castes : Religious and Superstitious ; Indian Provinces ; Bengal ; The Army in India ; The Native States ; Social Questions—The Principles on which our Government must be Conducted ; and other subjects.

Chapter XVI., on Education in its various aspects, is of extreme importance. It refers, in particular, to the efforts of Sir Syad Ahmad Khán in founding the Aligarh College for the higher education of Muhammadans. The author says : "Sir Syad Ahmad gave to this object for many years every effort of his life and the whole of his worldly means. He was joined by some influential friends. As time went on, hostile prejudices and opposition diminished, munificent endowments were offered, and help and encouragement came not only from Muhammadans, but from Hindus and Englishmen." In 1883, the college founded by him at Aligarh, in the North-West Provinces, had made such progress that the Indian Education Commissioners wrote of it in the following terms : "It is, in some respects, superior to any educational institution in India, and one which bids fair to be of the greatest importance from a political as well as from an educational point of view. . . . It is the first expression of independent Mussulman effort which the country has witnessed since it came under British rule. The Aligarh Society has set an example, which, if followed to any large extent, will solve the problem of national education ; and it is difficult to speak in words of too high praise of those whose labours have been so strenuous, or to overrate the value of the ally which the State has gained in the cause of education and advancement." "This college is fully equipped with professors and masters. The number of students in resi-

dence in 1902 was 500, and their religions are daily attended to. The college is affiliated to the Allahabad University. It is open to Hindus as well as Muhammadans, and, judging from the results of the University examination, there is no College in the United Provinces that has been so successful. Students have come to it not only from distant provinces, but from countries beyond the borders of India. Manly sports of all kinds are provided for, and encouraged to an extent nowhere else known in India."

This very important work is accompanied with a copious Index, and will be read with great pleasure and advantage by everyone who takes an interest in the progress and welfare of our Indian Empire.

8. *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, by JAMES W. DAVIDSON, F.R.G.S., Consul of the United States for Formosa. This book nearly takes one's breath away. A quarto volume of 700 pages, and all about so obscure an island as Formosa: this seems like what the Chinese call "using a butcher's cleaver to kill a chicken." But, after all, Formosa is as large as Wales, and, indeed, if we include the 150,000 savages, quite as populous; so, why should it not have a labour of love spent upon itself like any other place, even though but a handful of white men are there all told? There was no United States Consul belonging to the regular paid Civil Service until some time after the cession of the island to the Japanese, and Mr. Davidson has made the very best of his opportunities during the few years he has been there. He was much struck, on his first visiting the island during the republic of 1895, to find that there was no exhaustive book in the English language upon the subject. He acknowledges his indebtedness to certain missionary, Customs, and other compilations, and to Reiss's "*Geschichte der Insel*"; but it is decidedly surprising to find no notice whatever taken of the masterly "Sketch of Formosa," published by Messrs. A. R. Colquhoun and J. H. Stewart-Lockhart in 1885 (*China Review*, vol. xiii.); of the "Life of Koxinga" (same volume), by Mr. G. Phillips; and many other valuable papers in both the Shanghai and the Japanese Asiatic Societies' journals, the *Chinese Recorder*, and other volumes of the *China Review*. Mr. Colquhoun is only casually mentioned in one place as having visited the island with H.M.S. *Cockchafer* in 1884.

As Messrs. Colquhoun and Lockhart told us nearly twenty years ago, Formosa was practically a *terra incognita* until just before the conquest of China by the Manchus in 1644; nor can Mr. Davidson with all his research add much to our extremely slender knowledge of the island previous to that date. At first sight it seems strange that the Loochoo Archipelago should have been well known to the Chinese Government a thousand years earlier than Formosa, but in explanation of this singularity it must be pointed out that previous to Mongol times (thirteenth century) the province of Fuh Kien itself was scarcely yet assimilated; *à fortiori* the islands off its coast, probably well known to occasional fishermen for thousands of years before that, had never received any official recognition. Moreover, the strong current of the Formosa channel and the monsoons nearly always blowing north or south would tend to set Fuh Kien trading-

ships rather northwards in the direction of Loochoo-Japan or southwards in that of Manila-Java. The names Ki-lung ("Hen-Coop") and Tamsui ("Unsalt Water") were well known during the Ming dynasty—at least, from the beginning of the fifteenth century—when frequent Chinese fleets, mostly under the command of the celebrated eunuch, Chêng Ho, made the Celestial influence felt all over the Indian and even African seas. The true history of Formosa really begins with the Japanese, Spanish, and Dutch rivalries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but it was not until the submission to the Manchus of the Koxinga family, who had ejected the Dutch, that Formosa, or T'ai-wan ("Terrace Bay"), as the Chinese call it, became incorporated with the Empire. Mr. Davidson's suggestion that the Chinese word T'ai-wan may be derived from the native Paiwan tribes is a little too sanguine. Even down to our own times, Formosa continued to be a mere dependency of Fuh Kien, the highest local official being a *taotai* with special extra powers. Then came the Japanese invasion of 1874, staved off chiefly through the good offices of Sir Thomas Wade; the French invasion of 1884, somewhat similarly staved off as part of the Tonquin embroglio through the influence of Sir Robert Hart; and finally the Japanese War of 1894, followed by the cession, the abortive republic, and the conquest of 1895. After the French troubles the Governor of Fuh Kien was abolished, whilst a new Governor of Fuh Kien-T'ai-wan (Formosa) was appointed to the island in association with the Viceroy of Min-Chêh—*i.e.*, Fuh Kien and Chêh Kiang provinces. All these phases of Formosan development are gone into thoroughly by Mr. Davidson, whose style is in many places easy and humorous, not to say colloquial, but at the same time always instructive, interesting, and dignified. The amusing chapter on the burlesque "republic," and the eclipse of the "President" and the Black Flag General, is worthy of Abbé Huc.

The chapters on the camphor, tea, coal, and sugar industries are exceedingly clear, informing, and valuable; nowhere else is there to be found so complete and exhaustive an examination of the great economical possibilities of the island. Salt, sulphur, gold, and other productions are discussed with equal sagacity, and the thorough-going investigation into the "savage" ethnology, in the elaboration of which Mr. Davidson has received courteous and priceless assistance from a Japanese official friend, is by far the most satisfying statement extant. The section upon Economic Plants is also of exceptional worth, embracing as it does the best results of Mr. Augustine Henry's labours. The numerous pictures, photographs, and plates give the reader a most vivid idea of village and mountain life, and of the head-hunters, warriors, and aboriginal customs. The Index is extremely full and carefully compiled—indeed, it is practically a volume of reference in itself. In a word, the whole work reflects the highest credit upon the author, and for very many years must monopolize the very first rank as the standard authority on all things Formosan.

It is impossible in a short notice like this to do anything like justice to even one subject, and, indeed, all are treated with equal ability and thoroughness. Still less is it possible to criticise adequately any early

historical points which might be open to question, and these are perhaps the only points of fact at all open to question. But if the painstaking author should find any satisfaction in the knowledge that at least one outsider intends to go carefully through the whole book page by page, the writer of the present notice has pleasure in informing him that such an agreeable task has already begun, and will be religiously carried out to the end. The subject is one of comparatively small interest from the world-wide point of view, but Mr. Davidson has made it his own in such an admirable way that he has raised it to an unexpected height in dignity.—E. H. PARKER.

METHUEN AND CO.; LONDON, 1903.

9. *The Machinations of the Myo-ok*, by CECIL LEWIS. This is a volume of handy size, in 350 pages, well printed, and rather prettily bound; but we know not how it ought to be described. Is it a novel? is it a tale? It certainly is not history, nor is it a book of antiquarian research. We are at a loss to divine what is expected of a review of works on Asiatic subjects by those who submit to us works of this nature. The scene is, to be sure, laid in Burmah, but beyond this there is nothing in the book that brings it within our range. It is "a sort of" work of fiction, and it involves a plot, principally about money and medicine—gruesome subjects. A sum of money gets lost, and sundry devices are had recourse to in order to recover the money and find the thief. But judged of as a work of fiction and from the standpoint of the novel-reader, it is flat and uninteresting. There are a number of Burmese words mixed up with the story, which will be quite meaningless to all readers who have not become familiar with the spoken tongue by a lengthy residence in the country. This alone is an obvious drawback, and must of necessity circumscribe the circulation of the book and render it unreadable. The style of English is fairly good, and is such as to show that the author was no Burman. But even so, there are weaknesses not a few. On p. 10, for example, the English case possessive is decidedly overdone, and in such a way as to weaken, not to *strengthen*, the force of the style. To people on whose hands the hours hang heavily, and to whom all days are a weariness, the book may prove a means of annihilating time. But beyond this we fail to see to what end the book was written.—B.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1903.

10. *Sir A. Henry Layard, G.C.B., D.C.L.: Autobiography and Letters from his Childhood until his Appointment as H. M. Ambassador at Madrid*. Edited by the Hon. N. WILLIAM BRUCE. With a chapter on his Parliamentary career by the Rt. Hon. SIR ARTHUR OTWAY. In two vols. Mr. Bruce, in an admirable preface, gives a short sketch of the life of Sir A. Henry Layard, who was born in Paris on March 5, 1817, and died in London on July 5, 1894. From childhood he exhibited signs of a love for adventure, a taste for travelling and exploration, and the study of the fine arts, and a strong dislike to tyranny in any form. While still young he travelled widely in France, Switzerland, and Northern Italy, and visited Denmark,

Sweden, and St. Petersburg, and made friends with Cavour, Disraeli, and many others who, in course of time, became famous in England and the Continent. In later years he was well known from his Assyrian explorations and discoveries. He was in Constantinople under Sir Stratford Canning, and in the Crimea during the war, and in India during the Mutiny, and in Italy during the War of Liberation. He held office under four Liberal Administrations, and was Ambassador in Madrid during the Revolution of 1870-71. The present volumes tell his interesting story of incidents, of adventures, of men and manners, down to the period dealt with in the "Early Adventures," and give a description of his subsequent life at Constantinople. Mr. Bruce states that "he has left a full account of his two important embassies to Madrid and Constantinople, but he expressed the desire that this work should only be published "when the public interest will permit, and those who might be injured and offended by it have passed away." That time has not yet arrived, and it has therefore been judged expedient to terminate the present work in 1869, on the eve of his departure for Madrid. The second volume contains a very graphic account of his career in Parliament by his friend and colleague Sir Arthur Otway. This chapter is a most interesting one, recalling many incidents, such as the question of the "Mosaics" in the new Houses of Parliament, and the agitation on the selection of the site for the Courts of Law. He pleaded for the Embankment site, but was overruled chiefly by the influence of the late Lord Selborne, then Sir Roundell Palmer. Mr. Otway says: "Layard much regretted this, for he was convinced that he was on the side of public convenience, salubrity, and beauty, and he desired to enrich London not only by a much-needed public building, but also by a national monument, which should be worthy of the greatest city in the world"; and he adds: "The public have now an opportunity, when they look on the cramped, gloomy, ill-ventilated, and enormously expensive building in the Strand, for easily determining which of the parties was really right in this battle of the sites."

Vol. I contains an excellent map of Syria to illustrate Layard's travels, and beautiful portraits of him as a boy; also, later on, in Albanian dress; also of Lady Layard. Vol. II. contains a map of Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Persia, to illustrate his travels, also a drawing from his portrait in the National Gallery; a photogravure of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, also in the National Gallery; a photogravure from a photograph by Fradelle, and other interesting subjects. There is an excellent Index, a list of his articles contributed to the *Quarterly Review*, and of his works. The volumes are charmingly got up, and afford most interesting reading.

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OLIPHANT, ANDERSON AND FERRIER; EDINBURGH.

II. *East of the Barrier*, by REV. J. MILLER GRAHAM, Moukden, Manchuria. This is an agreeably written, and, moreover, a well-written, book of 250 pages, chiefly recounting the author's missionary and travelling experiences in Manchuria. So far as it touches upon political questions, one of its most agreeable features is the fairness and reasonableness displayed towards

the Russians and their aspirations. On the other hand, the case against Roman Catholic (French) rivals is stated rather strongly, though the writer of this notice, in the absence of local knowledge, is not prepared to say that it is set forth at all unfairly; if it is quite true, it is decidedly a "regrettable incident," in view of future possible Chinese complications. The tribute to the excellent moral effect of medical missions is undoubtedly well deserved; and, by the way, it is a curious fact that Protestants seem to monopolize the totality of this admirable work all over China. There is scarcely more than one, if, indeed, there is one, single Roman Catholic medical mission in the whole Far East. The well-known missionary sinologue, Dr. W. A. P. Martin, has recently drawn down the reproaches of his Protestant colleagues on his head by frankly announcing his opinion that too much fuss has hitherto been made about the "sin" of ancestral and Confucian "worship." According to our present author, who is by no means a violent partisan, the ultimate decision is best left to the consciences of native Protestant converts, not a few of whom, if we can unreservedly accept his assurances, have given proof of firm Christian steadfastness under heavy persecution. Their decision appears likely to be unreservedly against any such compromise as that originally proposed by the Jesuits and now openly recommended by Dr. Martin. Due credit is given to the distinguished Protestant pioneer, Dr. John Ross, whose noble labours for thirty years in Manchuria are now a matter of world-wide notoriety. The author exhibits considerable sympathy with the Chinese, both in their social and in their political trials. He is deservedly severe on the Germans, who, by their ungenerous action in the Kiao Chou affair, have, by setting a bad example, done so much to bring ruin and disintegration upon the hoary old Chinese Empire.—E. H. PARKER.

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C. ARTHUR PEARSON, LTD.; HENRIETTA STREET, LONDON, 1902.

12. *St. George and the Chinese Dragon: An Account of the Relief of the Peking Legations by an Officer of the British Contingent*, by LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. B. VAUGHAN, 7th Rajputs. Illustrated by the author. Colonel Vaughan has written a very interesting book, both to military circles, and to the general reader. He kept a diary of his advance with his regiment, the 7th Duke of Connaught's Own Bengal Infantry, known as the 7th Rajputs, which was then stationed at Fort William, Calcutta. They reached Taku on July 14 and 15, 1900, the steamer anchoring close to the Allied Fleets. The narrative is chiefly confined to his own advance. The author has included a general account of other corps supplied by officers of their respective regiments, such as the 1st Sikhs, and the 24th Punjab Infantry. The sketches, taken by himself, were made on the spot, and the incidents which occurred may be taken as correct. The book is divided into nine chapters, titled as follows: "At Duty's Call," "Through Hostile Hordes," "Under Hot Skies," "The Dragon's Lair," "The Legations Relieved," "The Forbidden City," "The Temple of Heaven," "Colours in the Field," "Broken Bits of China." These titles indicate by themselves the raciness of Colonel Vaughan's narrative. There is also an appendix contain-

ing a summary of British killed and wounded, and an extract from Sir Claude Macdonald's despatches, which is worthy of quotation. The despatch from which it is taken is dated December 24, 1900. "At about 2 a.m. there was a pause, when very distinctly the delighted garrison heard the boom of heavier guns away to the east, and the sound of many maxims evidently outside the city walls. The scene in the Legation was indescribable. Those who, tired out, had fallen asleep were awakened by these unwonted sounds, and there was much cheering and shaking of hands. The enemy, too, had heard it. . . . Shortly before 3 p.m. a breathless messenger from the Tartar City Wall arrived to say that foreign troops were under the city wall opposite the Water Gate. I immediately followed him, and arrived in time to receive General Gaselee and his staff as they came through the said gate and stood on the Canal Road. From there I led them through the Russian Legation to the British, where they were welcomed by the rest of the besieged garrison. The regiment that first entered the Legation quarter was the 7th Rajputs, under Major Vaughan. With them was Major Scott, of the 3rd Sikhs, attached to the 1st Sikhs, with a few men of his regiment. This officer, with several men, ran along the Canal Road from the south bridge to the gateway opposite the First Secretary's house, and they were the first to enter the British Legation."

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SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; 15, WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON, 1903.

13. *The New Nation: A Sketch of the Social, Political, and Economic Conditions and Prospects of the Australian Commonwealth*, by PERCY F. ROWLAND, late scholar of Hertford College, Oxford. The work, in a sketchy form, narrates the convict settlement, the infant colonies, and their beginnings of independence, the struggle with the natives, and other elements of Australian history, climate, scenery, and chief cities, the federal movement, social life, education, and other questions. The author states that his object in writing the book is "to afford to those who have not visited the country a candid and impartial account of the young Commonwealth—the kind of account that he himself endeavoured, but failed, to obtain before he set out for what remains to most Englishmen an unknown land." The author records his impressions "after seven years' collection and careful correction." There is a copious Index.

14. *Babylonians and Assyrians*, by Dr. GOODSPEED, of the University of Chicago. In something over 400 pages the author deals with one aspect of the subject—the "history" of these ancient peoples—and the work is published in "the Historical Series for Bible Students." Though not large in volume, it may well be regarded as a great book on a great subject. It is written in excellent English and in a good historical style. It is packed with learning and manifests extensive reading both ancient and modern, and every sentence in it that is not charged with information is charged with thought and with effective reasoning. It is not a book in which a superficial reader could possibly find pleasure, and even for the learned it will be principally of value as a work of reference. So completely has the author mastered and digested his subject that he writes, as it were,

at first hand; and throughout the work there is not so much as a single footnote or reference of any kind—a feature which some students who crave “authority” in subjects of so recondite a nature may view with regret. It should not be forgotten, however, that such references would have considerably augmented both the size of the book and also its price. But there is throughout a care and a painstaking industry which at once captivates the reader’s attention and bespeaks credence.

In point of mechanical structure the work is student-like in a marked degree. Every paragraph is numbered, and the work is divided into parts and sections; and at the end we have a chronological summary from the year 5000 B.C. onwards down to the overthrow of Croesus by Cyrus in 536 before the Christian Era. There is also an index of all special terms, subjects, and names (of persons and of places) which occur in the course of the work; by this means every detail in the book is at once rendered accessible. (This feature of the work, however, admits of improvement, and will doubtless receive attention in future editions.) The work is prefaced by a carefully-prepared map of the world of “Oriental Antiquity,” which is very helpful for reference in studying the subject of the two great empires of which the work treats. An index of the passages in the Old Testament alluded to in the course of the work brings up the rear. Although there are, as we have said, no references to authorities in the course of the work, yet there is at the end a bibliography in which all the works on the subject of Assyria and Babylon that have hitherto been published are enumerated in chronological sequence, whether in English, German, or French. Altogether the work is one which cannot be too highly commended.—B.

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THACKER AND CO.: LONDON, 1902.

15. *Representative Indians*, by G. PARAMASWAN PILLAI, Barrister-at-Law.\* In a work of 350 pages Mr. Pillai gives us a series of brief biographical sketches of distinguished fellow-countrymen of his, beginning with Rájá Rámmshan Roy, and ending with Sir K. Sheshadhri Aiyár—men of the nineteenth century *all*. The sketches are informing, and each short enough for an ordinary newspaper article. The author has drawn upon a number of published volumes, written some by Indians and some by Englishmen. Although he speaks of them as “representative” men, they are not to be taken as *samples* of Indians. They are, in fact, “the cream of the cream”—very exceptional men indeed. We can only hope that so distinguished a series of men will appear in that land in the twentieth and every future century.

The men of these sketches are, we are glad to note, not selected on account of high caste, or of great wealth, or of distinguished family connection. Many of them began life without as much as a single advantage, and they achieved distinction simply by personal quality, industry, and force. They are not the life-stories of men who have worked their way from poverty to wealth, but of men who have had each a large share in the

\* We regret to record his death at Quilon on May 21.

improvement of their fellow-countrymen. They were patriots to a man—emphatically so ; and most of them were distinguished for their learning, for high character, and for public usefulness. That they were loyal to the British throne is very manifest in their whole career ; but they were more than that : they were upright men, and were loyal to their high convictions. They were men for whom their own countrymen should be thankful, and whom the ruling power should be proud to own and to honour. Many of them wore high University distinction, and several of them received from the late Queen-Empress those titular distinctions which with such excellent discrimination Her Majesty was wont to confer.

The sketches show how very lacking in correctness is the judgment of some Englishmen in India who pass upon all Indians a sweeping condemnation. Some of the Indians of these sketches were personally known to ourselves, and they were men whom to know was to sincerely respect and love. But if the Indian were, in his turn, to pass a sweeping judgment upon Englishmen, what would that judgment be ? There are “good, bad, and indifferent” among *all* races of men, and to ignore the exceptional cases is but to deceive one's self into a one-sided view. Such a body of men as are set before us in this volume are the very builders of their nation.

It is pleasing to note that the author has not confined himself to the men of one part of the country, or of one nationality or creed. Bengalis and Parsis, Madrasis and Hindustanis—Hindús, Muhammadans, Brahmos, and Christians—each is admitted according to his own respective title and claim to the category of “Distinguished Indians.” None of the men brought forward in these sketches are now alive ; it is an excellent thought, the deferring of such honour as this till one's earthly career is closed. It is also pleasing to note that some of the distinguished men in this series were publicly known as advocates of the rights of Indian women, notably of the marriage of Hindú widows. They set their faces against the cruel custom of placing a person at a disadvantage in the race of life on account of a fact for which she is in no way to be held responsible—the fact of her sex ; and very bitterly some of these men had to suffer as the consequence of their noble defence of the weak against the strong. Let us hope that in some future issue of this timely volume the name of those brave and gifted heroines, Cornelia Sorābji, Toru Dutt, and Panditá Rámabai, will be accorded the position of honour which is but their right as “Distinguished Indians.”

There are a few press errors, too obvious to need specifying by us, and which the publishers will doubtless see the importance of correcting in some later issue of this work. The publication of such a series of biographical sketches is indeed a happy idea, and it should tend to draw the ruling race nearer to our Indian fellow-subjects in sympathy and co-operation. We should add that these “Distinguished Indians” were but a few chosen from a very much larger number than could be passed in review in a single volume.—B.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Persian Problem: An Examination of the Rival Positions of Russia and Great Britain in Persia, with some Account of the Persian Gulf and the Bagdad Railway*, by H. J. WHIGHAM, with maps and illustrations (London: Isbister and Co., Ltd., 1903). This excellent book on the Persian Question deserves more than a small notice; we hope to review it fully in our next issue.

*The India List, and India Office List for 1902* (London: Harrison and Sons, 59, Pall Mall, 1903). This invaluable compilation is derived from official records, by direction of the Secretary of State for India in Council, and reflects great credit on the compiler. The "Index of Appointments" and "Index of Subjects," previously separate, have been amalgamated into one "Index of Subjects and Appointments." There is also a "Combined Casualty List." There is an excellent map of the Indian Empire; also an interesting and valuable article on India, compiled principally from Sir William Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer," with a few corrections from the author's "Indian Empire," and from other sources. The numerous classes of statistics have been brought up to date. The volume also contains a minute and copious index of names occurring in the volume. It is a vade-mecum of information connected with the India Office.

*Africa No. 2* (1903): *Correspondence Relating to the Recruitment of Labour in the British Central African Protectorate for Employment in the Transvaal*. (Presented to Parliament April, 1903.) This document contains the rules, regulations and proclamations of the various administrative authorities, exhibiting the care and caution which these authorities have taken in protecting the rights, liberties, and welfare of tribes passing from one region to another in search of employment in the Transvaal.

*Luzac's Oriental List*, vol. xiv. Nos. 1 and 2, January and February, 1903 (44, Great Russell Street, London). This list contains an admirable epitome of the contents of the recent works on Oriental subjects which have been published in England, on the Continent, in the East, and in America.

*Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee: The Conference of 1902* (11A, Princess Street, Westminster, S.W.). This pamphlet contains extracts from the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain, Sir John Forrest, Minister of State for Defence of the Commonwealth of Australia, and Lord Selborne. They amply confirm the important efforts and policy of the Imperial Defence Committee.

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We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *Resolution reviewing the Reports on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the Year 1901-1902*; and also *Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1901-1902* (Bombay: Printed at the Government Central Press, 1903);—*Russia and India in 1903*, by Colonel Sir Howard Vincent, K.C.M.G., etc. (London: P. S. King and Son, Orchard House, Westminster, 1903);—*The Need of a Rational and Humane Science*, a lecture delivered before

the Humanitarian League, by Edward Carpenter (Humanitarian League, 53, Chancery Lane, London);—*The British Empire Review* (112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.);—*The International Quarterly*, edited by Frederick A. Richardson (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square);—*The East and the West*, a quarterly review for the study of missions (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 19, Delahay Street, Westminster, S.W.);—*Industrial and Commercial Ceylon*, special issue of the *Ceylon Independent*, 1902;—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, revue philologique (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Editeur, 1903);—*Western Canada*, issued under the authority of the Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, Canada, from the office of the High Commissioner for Canada, 11-14, Charing Cross, London, W.C.;—*A Grammar of the Pali Language* (in four volumes), Vol. IV., by Tha Do Oung (Pyigy Mandine Press, Akyab, 1902, and Luzac and Co., London);—*Ur 'Abd Allah B. 'Abd ez-Zahir's biografi över Sultanen el-Melik el-Asraf Halil*, Arabisk täxt med översättning, inledning ock anmärkningar utgiven av Axel Moberg (Gleerupska Universitets-bokhandeln, Lund (Hjalmar Moller, 1902);—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay; and Luzac and Co., London, 1902);—*Universidad Central de Espana, Memoria del curso de 1900 a 1901, y Annario del de 1901 a 1902, de su distrito Universitario* (Madrid: Imprenta Colonial, 1902);—George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain*, April, May, June;—*The Sunday Strand*, April, May, June;—*The Strand Magazine*, April, May, June;—*The Citizen's Atlas*, parts 8-12;—*The Wide World Magazine*, April, May, June;—*The Book of Gardening*, parts 1-4;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Imperial Institute Journal* (London: Waterlow and Sons);—*Journal of the United Service Institution of India* (Simla: Government Central Printing-Office);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The*

Cornhill Magazine ;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender* ;—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon : Imprensa Nacional, 1902).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone the notice of the following works : *Chota Nagpore, a little-known Province of the Empire*, by F. B. Bradley-Birt, B.A., I.C.S., with an introduction by the Right Hon. the Earl of Northbrook, G.C.S.I., sometime Viceroy of India, with forty-three illustrations and a map (London : Smith, Elder and Co., 1903) ;—*The Diary of a Turk*, by Halil Halid, M.A., M.R.A.S., containing eight illustrations (London : Adam and Charles Black, 1903) ;—*Indian Mythology, according to the Mahabharata, in outline*, by V. Fausboll. Luzac's Oriental Religious Series, vol. i. (Luzac and Co., London, 1903) ;—*Buddhistic Essays referring to the Abhidharma* (Colombo : Ceylon Examiner Press ; and Luzac and Co., London, 1903) ;—*Satvôtpatti Viniśchaya and Nirvâna Vibhâga*, compiled by M. Dharmaratna, editor of the *Lakminipahana*, etc. Translation (*Observer Office*, Colombo ; Luzac and Co., London) ;—*L'Inde*, by Pierre Loti, of the Académie Française (Paris : Calmann-Levy, éditeurs, 3, rue Auber) ;—The Nineteenth Century Series : *The Progress of Australasia in the Nineteenth Century*, by T. A. Coghlan and T. T. Ewing, with which is incorporated, by permission of the Government of New South Wales and the other principal Colonies, certain statistics and other matter prepared for the official publications ; also *Progress of the British Empire in the Century*, by J. Stanley Little, author of "My Royal Father," etc. (The Linscott Publishing Company, Toronto and Philadelphia ; W. and R. Chambers, Limited, London and Edinburgh, 1903) ;—*Sir A. Sashiah Sastri, K.C.S.I. : an Indian Statesman*, a biographical sketch by B. V. Kamesvara Aiyar, M.A., Pudukota (Madras : Srinivasa, Varadachari and Co., 1902) ;—*The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, by Alfred J. Butler, D.LITT., F.S.A., etc. (Oxford : at the Clarendon Press, 1902) ;—*In Pursuit of the "Mad" Mullah : Service and Sport in the Somali Protectorate*, by Captain Malcolm McNeill, D.S.O., Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, with a chapter by Lieut. A. C. H. Dixon, West India Regiment (London : C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., Henrietta Street, 1902) ;—*Service and Sport on the Tropical Nile : some Records of the Duties and Diversions of an Officer among Natives and Big Game during the Reoccupation of the Nilotic Province*, by Captain C. A. Sykes, R.H.A., with a map and illustrations from photographs and from drawings made by Major E. A. P. Hobday, R.F.A. (London : John Murray, 1903) ;—*The Ideals of the East, with special reference to the Art of Japan*, by Kakasu Okakura (London : John Murray, 1903) ;—*Romance of the Insect World*, by L. N. Badenoch ; with illustrations by Margaret J. D. Badenoch and others (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd. ; New York : The Macmillan Company, 1901) ;—*New Lays of Ind : Personal Reminiscences of an Indian Civilian*, by Aleph Ré (London : Thomas Burleigh, 376 and 377, Strand, 1903) ;—*History of the Tamil Language*, by V. G. Suryanarayana Sastriar, B.A., Head Tamil Pandit, Madras Christian College, with an English introduction by the Rev. F. W.

Kellett, M.A., Professor of History, Madras Christian College (Madras : G. A. Natesan and Co., Printers, Esplanade, 1903);—The Ancient East : No. 1, *The Realms of the Egyptian Dead*, by K. A. Wiedemann, PH.D. ; No. 2, *The Tell el Amarna Period*, by Carl Niebuhr ; No. 3, *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis*, by H. Zimmern, PH.D. ; No. 4, *The Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell*, by Alfred Jeremias, PH.D. ; No. 5, *Popular Literature in Ancient Egypt*, by A. Wiedemann, PH.D. (London : David Nutt, 57-59, Long Acre, 1902);—*The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, translated and edited, with notes, by Colonel Sir Henry Yule, R.E., C.B., K.C.S.I., Corr. Inst., France. Third edition, revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henri Cordier (of Paris), Professor of Chinese History at the École des langues orientales vivantes, etc., with a memoir of Henry Yule by his daughter, Amy Frances Yule, L.A. Soc. Ant. Scot., etc. ; in two volumes, with maps and illustrations (London : John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1903).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

**INDIA : GENERAL.**—In a speech delivered by the Viceroy at the end of March last, His Excellency said that the proposed reduction in taxation would be beneficial to the poorest classes. The subjects awaiting reform were education, irrigation, police, railways, the separation of the Judicial and Administrative services, agricultural research, an agricultural bank, and a commercial bureau.

His Excellency has received from the King-Emperor the chain of the Royal Victorian Order, as a personal memento of the Delhi Darbār.

The following have been selected as orderlies to His Majesty the King-Emperor: Risaldar-Major Umdah Singh, 2nd Panjāb Cavalry (Hindu Rajput); Risaldar-Major 'Ali Muhammad Khan, 2nd Bengal Cavalry (Muhammadian); Subadar-Major Mir Abbas, 4th Madras Infantry (Muhammadian); Risaldar Ahmad Khan, 2nd Regiment Haidarabad Contingent, cavalry (Muhammadian); Subadar-Major Jorwand Singh, 45th Bengal Infantry (Jāt Sikh); Subadar Ram Chandra Rao Mohitay, 3rd Bombay Infantry (Deccan Mahratta). Their duties are purely military. They will attend on His Majesty at all receptions in the Royal Palace, and their services will last from April to August, when a fresh number will be appointed for each ensuing year.

The Madras Government has sanctioned an annual grant of 5,000 rupees to the Anjuman, a Muhammadian association instituted for the object of imparting technical and industrial education to poor Muhammadian youths.

The trade of India for the past year, ended March 31 last, showed that the imports declined by 274 lacs; the exports rose to 468 lacs. The total volume of commerce was thus larger by nearly 194 lacs.

A net profit of over Rs. 6,69,000 during the year 1901-02 has been announced by the Indo-European Telegraph Department; this is an increase of nearly Rs. 60,700 on the previous year.

The Government has decided not to participate officially in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition next year.

**INDIA : FRONTIER.**—Three British officers were attacked at Miranshah Tochi on April 9 by two fanatical Waziris—Lieutenant G. Langhorne pistol shot in the face and a dagger wound in the leg, Lieutenant R. Waller dagger wound, and Lieutenant G. Young nose grazed.

**INDIA : NATIVE STATES.**—On April 11 the Maharaja Kumar Raj Rajendra Narain of Cooch Behar attained his majority, when an interesting ceremony took place, amidst the rejoicings and well-wishes of the people.

**BURMA.**—Sir Hugh Shakespear Barnes, K.C.S.I., the new Lieutenant-Governor, landed at Rangoon on April 3 last, and received a hearty welcome.

**CEYLON.**—The pearl fishery, which closed on April 15 last, yielded the sum of 8½ lacs of rupees to the Government.

**BALUCHISTAN.**—Colonel Yate, 29th Baluchis, with two orderlies was arrested by Afghans of the Fort of Spin Baldak for crossing the frontier.

After a detention of twenty days, during which he was well treated, he was liberated by order of the Amir.

The Sistan Boundary Commission, under Colonel McMahon, has been busy for some time making surveys in the neighbourhood of Nad Ali and examining the irrigation canals in that district; both the Persians and the Afghans have been helping in every way, and most satisfactory relations exist between all parties. The mission is still pursuing its work, and the party is in good health. Communication with India is kept up by heliograph and telegraph messages.

PERSIA.—Much dissatisfaction has been caused among the priesthood by the introduction of the new Russo-Persian commercial treaty. The chief Mullā of Tabriz, who had endeavoured to rouse the people into protesting against the same, has been deported to Khurasan.

A telegraph line has been erected by the Government between Mashad and Sistan.

The mail service between India and the Persian Gulf has been accelerated. The ports benefiting are Maskat, Gwadar, Bushire, and Basrah. The transit from Bombay to Basrah will occupy eight days.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The Imperial Ottoman Baghdad Railway Company has been constituted at Constantinople with a share capital of 15,000,000 francs and a nominal one of 30,000,000 francs. The western terminus of the railway at the new harbour at Haidar Pasha was opened in April last. Owing to the unfavourable situation in Turkey the railway scheme has been temporarily abandoned.

The Governor of Tais, who was responsible for much of the opposition met by the Aden Hinterland Boundary Commission, has been removed from his post.

The town of Melasgerd, in the vilayet of Van, has been totally destroyed by an earthquake; the population, consisting of 2,000 persons, perished.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—Russia appears to be aiming at exclusive control over Manchuria, and the Chinese Government virtually agrees to this condition. Several bodies of troops have taken up strategic positions in different parts of the province.

CHINA.—The Customs receipts for 1902 amounted to 30,000,000 taels (£3,900,000).

Yung-lu, the Controller of Finance and First Secretary, has died, and Prince Ching has been appointed to succeed him as Grand Secretary.

It is reported that through an explosion at the Canton arsenal and powder factory about 1,500 persons were killed.

KOREA.—The Russian representative at Seoul having pressed for the grant of the concession of the Seoul-Wi-ju Railway for M. Guisberg on behalf of the Russo-Chinese Bank, strong opposition was offered by Japan. The Government has rejected the Russian application.

JAPAN.—The Diet was opened by the Emperor on May 12. His Majesty made a short speech in relation to the Budget, national defences, and the promotion of the country's prosperity. A combination of parties in the Diet resulted in the defeat of the Government; but the Cabinet, holding its commission from the Emperor, the defeat did not involve its

dissolution. The session closed on June 4; 500,000 yen has been voted on account of Formosa, and 36,000 yen towards the representation of the Empire at the St. Louis Exposition.

**PHILIPPINES.**—Ladrones have surprised and captured the town of Surigao in Mindanao, killing several of the constabulary. The town was afterwards relieved by a force of constabulary.

An American force has captured ten forts in Taraca County, Mindanao, killing many of the enemy and taking the Sultan of Amparugano prisoner.

**EGYPT.**—The last shareholders' annual report of the Suez Canal Company shows a surplus of receipts amounting to 62,738,440 francs. The profits available for distribution amount to 61,497,464 francs. This, with the interim dividend paid on January 1, brings up the total dividend paid on each share (including 25 francs interest) to 124 francs 15·8 cents.

**SOMALILAND.**—On April 17 a flying column under the command of Colonel Plunkett was attacked by the Mulla's followers. The enemy charged in overwhelming numbers, and practically annihilated the column. Nine officers and 174 men were killed, only 37 Yaos escaping. The officers who fell were Colonel Plunkett, Captains Johnston-Stewart, Olivey, Morris, Mackinnon; Lieutenants Gaynor and Bell of the 2nd Battalion King's African Rifles; Captain Vesey, 2nd Sikhs; Captain Sime, Indian Medical Staff; and privates Laurence, Ensor, and John Barrow, with 172 rank and file of native soldiers. Two maxims were also lost. All forward movements have been suspended, and the base at Obbia has been evacuated. Large quantities of stores there and on the lines of communication have also necessarily been abandoned.

The Abyssinians, who have been co-operating with us, have since gained a victory over the dervishes at Burhilli, on the left bank of the Webi Shebill.

The latest information about the Mulla is that his gathering numbers over 6,000 mounted men, and a recrudescence of trouble is feared. A camel corps, consisting of two British officers, 500 drivers, and 1,320 camels, is on its way from the Panjab to Somaliland.

**RHODESIA.**—Dr. Rubin, with an expedition numbering 280 persons, left Cape Town for Chinde for the purpose of measuring an arc of meridian into North-Eastern Rhodesia from the Zambesi to Lake Tanganyika. Much importance is attached to the result, which will yield *data* in connection with the determination of the earth's dimensions.

The gold production of 1902 amounted to 201,079 ounces against 180,888 ounces in the previous year. White labour is deprecated in the mines, consequently there is great scarcity of it, and no hope of getting any from Central Africa. The Chamber of Mines has determined to try Indians.

**TRANSVAAL.**—From July 1 a great reduction of railway traffic charges in South Africa takes effect, and it is expected that this will be very beneficial to the Transvaal.

The Bombay Chamber of Commerce has addressed a letter to Government on the subject of the disabilities of Indian natives in South Africa, and advocating that they should be placed on the same footing as other

British subjects. (See the Proceedings of the East India Association in this number.)

The following are the unofficial members of the enlarged Legislative Council: Mr. E. F. Bourke, Mr. J. C. Brind, Mr. Andries Cronje, Mr. J. Z. de Villiers, Mr. Thomas Everard, Sir George Farrar, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, Mr. W. Hosken, Mr. H. C. Hull, Mr. R. K. Loveday, Mr. A. Raitt, Mr. P. Roux, Mr. A. Solomon, and Mr. H. P. van Rensburg.

The Legislative Council has unanimously agreed to include Dingaan's Day amongst the public holidays.

The revenue for nine months ending April was £4,166,665, and the net expenditure was £3,281,962. The imports for the four months ending April amounted in value to £7,959,010, as compared with £2,643,571 for the corresponding period of last year.

The German association of shareholders in the South African "Netherlands" Railway has accepted the terms of the British Government regarding the purchase of *bonâ fide* shares in possession of private persons previous to the breaking out of the war.

The current year's revenue of the ORANGE RIVER COLONY is estimated at £914,800, and the expenditure at £812,940. The revenue of the past year was £558,685, which left a surplus of £4,615. The Legislative Council have voted a war contribution of £5,000,000 from the revenues of hereafter discovered minerals and precious stones.

NATAL.—Transit dues have now been abolished in this colony. The Budget shows a very satisfactory state of affairs. The revenue for 1903, 1904 is estimated at £4,075,266, and the expenditure at £6,382,445. The public debt amounts to £14,019,143, and the sinking fund at the end of 1902 was £405,514. There is a loan of £2,316,689 on the revenue side, thus showing a surplus of £9,510 in revenue over expenditure.

CAPE COLONY.—Transit duties on goods for the Transvaal have been abolished since April 24, and Cape products, with few exceptions, are admitted free to the Transvaal.

The British Indian League met in May at Cape Town and protested against the Aliens Immigration Act, and also against the proposal to compel Asiatics to reside in locations.

The revenue for the ten months ended April last amounted to nearly £10,000,000.

At the opening of Parliament on June 5 the Governor made a very short speech, and concluded by urging all races to work in harmony together to enable the colony to become the leading State in South Africa.

WEST AFRICA: NIGERIA.—Sokoto was occupied by the Northern Nigerian troops on March 15 after a slight resistance. Several thousands of horse and footmen have returned to their homes round about Kano, and have been deprived of their arms. The heir to the Amir has, together with other chiefs, been placed in charge of Kano. The deposed Sultan of Sokoto has raised a following and commenced a guerilla warfare. A sharp fight has occurred, when they were dispersed and proceeded to the eastward.

An expedition under Major Crawley, 250 strong, has been operating in the south-east of Zaria against some pagan tribes.

MOROCCO.—A feeling against the Sultan exists among some of the tribes between Tangier and Fez. In their prayers, in place of the Sultan, they substitute the name of Sheikh Mulai 'Abd-es-Salām, whose tomb is a favourite place of pilgrimage. A large gathering of Riff tribes has proclaimed as Sultan, Mulai Muhammad, the Sultan's brother.

The Sultan has dismissed his European *entourage*, with the exception of six French and English officers.

The pretender has captured the fortress of Frajana, and is practically master of the Melilla district. The rebels who were besieging Tetuan have suffered a defeat, and have abandoned the siege.

A million pesetas have been borrowed from Spain. This loan is a six per cent. one.

CANADA.—Great floods occurred at the end of last March around Montreal, and large portions of the towns of St. Lambert, La Prairie, and Longueuil, on the south bank of the river St. Lawrence, were for some time under water. This was followed by two months of drought, during which serious forest fires raged in several places, causing great damage, more especially in the maritime provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Ontario. Showers early in June extinguished the fires and also benefited the crops.

The Canadian Pacific Railway runs trains daily between Montreal and Vancouver, the time taken being ninety-seven hours.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The seal fishery has proved very successful. The Budget statement for year ended June, 1902, was: Revenue, \$2,193,526; expenditure, \$2,129,466, showing a surplus of \$64,060, which will be spent on new lighthouses, harbour improvements, and roads. This revenue is the largest on record.

VICTORIA.—The Federal Parliament was opened on May 26 by Lord Tennyson, the Governor-General of the Commonwealth. Amongst the measures to be discussed are the establishment of a High Court of Judicature, a Court of Conciliation and Arbitration for the settlement of disputes extending beyond one State, and the naval defence agreement with the Imperial Government.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue for the first ten months of the financial year was £2,830,300, and the expenditure £2,587,000.

Mr. Leahy, Secretary for Railways and Public Works, has estimated that in two years the number of sheep in the colony will amount to fifteen millions.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Mr. George Ruthven Le Hunte, C.M.G., Lieutenant-Governor of British New Guinea, has been appointed Governor of this colony.

TASMANIA.—The constitution of the new Ministry is as follows: Mr. Propstring, Premier and Treasurer; Mr. Nicholls, Attorney-General; Mr. Lyne, Minister of Lands; Mr. McCall, Chief Secretary; Mr. Sadler, Minister without portfolio.

NEW ZEALAND.—The results of the financial year ended March 31, 1902, were very satisfactory. The revenue exceeded the estimate by £304,000. The imports were of the value of £11,500,000, and the exports exceeded £15,000,000. The population increased by 20,000. The colony contributes £40,000 for naval defence.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following :—Sir Richard Garth, K.C. (1875-86 Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature, Bengal);—Mr. George Gordon Mackintosh, one of the oldest members of the Bengal Civil Service;—General Sir Hector MacDonald (Afghanistan 1879-80, Majuba 1880, Nile expedition 1885, Suakin 1888, Toski 1889, Tokar 1891, Sudan 1896, Boer war 1900-01);—Major-General Thomas Parkyns Smith, late R.A. (Mutiny, Afghan war 1879-80);—Major-General Arthur Scott Moberly, formerly Royal (Madras) Engineers (Burmese war 1853);—Mr. Edward James Moor, P.W.D. India;—Colonel Charles Aylmer Liardet, formerly of the Madras Revenue Survey;—Captain Edgar Herbert Armstrong, Lancashire Fusiliers, attached to Egyptian Army;—Captain William Arthur Gardiner, Royal Sussex Regiment and Army Pay Department (North-west Frontier campaign 1897-98);—The Hon. William Rolleston, an old English pioneer in New Zealand;—Mr. John Ross, an old Australian bushman and explorer;—Major-General Edward Tierney, of the Royal (late Bengal) Artillery (Mutiny, Afghanistan 1879-80);—Major-General Sir G. S. Whitmore, member of the New Zealand Legislative Council (Kafir war, Boer insurrection, Crimea, Maori war);—Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Brandt, late 103rd Bombay Fusiliers (Mutiny);—Colonel John Gore Campbell, formerly of the 2nd Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers (Sonthal rebellion 1855-56, Mutiny campaign 1857-58);—Major-General Clennell Collingwood, late Royal Artillery (Afghan war 1878-79);—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Francis Gordon-Forbes (Afghan war 1878-79, Burmese expedition 1886-87);—Colonel Harvey Hamilton Harvey-Kelly (Burma 1887-89 and 1891-92, Chitral campaign 1895);—Colonel Henry John Lyster, R.A. (Afghan war 1878-80, Mahsud Waziri expedition 1881);—Major-General Charles Frederick Parkinson (Crimea and Central India campaigns);—Major Hedley Wright, D.S.O., of the 11th Bengal Lancers (Hazara expedition 1891, Chitral relief and operations North-west Frontier);—Major-General Colin Cookworthy, late Royal (Bengal) Artillery (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Panjab campaign 1848-49, and Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Wickham, late 33rd Regiment (Crimea);—Colonel Charles William Fletcher, late Bengal Staff Corps (defence of Lucknow);—Major-General Blundell Mein, commanding 12th Bengal Pioneers (Afghan war 1880, Miranzai expedition 1891, North-west Frontier campaign 1897-98);—Sir Charles Grant (Commissioner of Central Provinces 1870, Acting Chief Commissioner 1879, Acting Secretary to Government 1880, Foreign Secretary 1881);—Colonel Thomas Kettlewell, of the Hon. East India Company's Service 1852 and Bombay Staff Corps (Persian expedition 1856);—Maharaja Bahadur Sir Narendra Krishna, K.C.I.E., head of the

Sobha Bazar family ;—At Peking, Yung-lu, Controller of Chinese Finances and First Secretary ;—General E. Lee Rose, R.M.L.I. (Sudan expedition 1884) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel R. Bridges Bellers, late of the 50th Regiment (Sobraon, Aliwal) ;—Sir Gerald Raoul de Courcy-Perry, British Consul-General at Antwerp since 1888, Royal Navy 1849-52, Bombay Infantry 1853-54 ;—Major-General Hopton Scott Stewart, formerly Madras Staff Corps (Candahar Field Force 1879-80) ;—Mr. Donald William McPherson, late Deputy-Accountant-General of the Indian P.W.D. ;—Colonel Kenneth James Loch Mackenzie, C.I.E., formerly Madras Artillery and Assistant Commissioner and Curator of Forests, Haiderabad assigned districts ;—Captain William Francis Segrave, late 71st Highlanders (Crimea, North-west Frontier 1863) ;—Mr. Horace Bell, P.W.D. (Indian Railways) ;—Major-General Donald Macintyre, v.c., late Bengal Staff Corps (Peshawar 1852, Kurram Valley 1856, Peshawar Valley 1864, Looshai expedition 1871-72, Afghan war 1878-79) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel George Prescott Douglas, late Queen's Bays (Egyptian war 1882, late Boer war) ;—Captain Charles Edward McMurdo (Crimea) ;—Deputy-Surgeon-General J. F. Shekleton, late of the Indian Medical Service (Panjab campaign 1848-49) ;—Mr. John Henry Garstin, C.S.I., late Madras Civil Service ;—Sir Oliver Mowat, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and for twenty-four years Premier of Ontario ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Charles Annesley, commanding 4th Battalion Royal Fusiliers ;—Dr. Thomas Blaney, C.I.E., an old resident of Bombay ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Spencer Richard Rawlinson, D.S.O., late Indian Staff Corps ;—Major William Alan Cairnes, R.E. (Burmese expedition 1885-86, Isazai expedition 1892, Boer war) ;—Rai Bahadur Durgagati Banerjee, C.I.E., sometime Collector of Calcutta ;—Lieutenant-General Sir William John Williams, Colonel Commandant Royal Artillery (Crimea, Jowaki-Afridi expedition 1877-78, Afghan war 1878-79) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel M. Clare Garsia, C.B., Commissioner of Prisons, and formerly of the West Kent Light Infantry (Gambia expedition 1861) ;—Captain K. W. Macnaghten, of the Egyptian Army ;—Mr. W. A. Probert, late of the Bombay Civil Service ;—The Hon. Morgan S. Grace, C.M.G., Surgeon-General of Colonial Forces in New Zealand, etc. ;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. William Valentine Plunkett, Commandant 2nd (Central African) Battalion King's African Rifles, killed in Somaliland (Miranizai expedition 1891, Malakand and Tirah campaigns, Uganda, etc.) ;—Captain Lachlan Mackinnon, King's African Rifles (Tirah campaign and Somaliland) ;—Captain James Johnston-Stewart, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and King's African Rifles (Tochi Field Force 1897-98, Somaliland) ;—Captain Herbert Charles Vesey, 2nd Sikh Infantry (Burma 1887-88, Hazara campaign, and Somaliland) ;—Lieutenant Cyril Ernest Chichester, King's African Rifles (Mohmund campaign 1897, and Somaliland) ;—Captain C. Godfrey, D.S.O., Indian Staff Corps, killed in Somaliland (Ashanti operations 1900) ;—Captain C. M. D. Bruce, R.A., killed in Somaliland (North-west Frontier 1897-98) ;—Mr. Paul Du Chaillu, a well-known African explorer ;—Mr. Henry Davis Willock, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service and a survivor of the Mutiny ;—Dr. Charles Sumner Austin, formerly Editor of the *Madras Athenæum* and *Daily News* ;—Mr. Noel Temple Moore,

C.M.G., late British Consul-General in Tripoli;—Colonel Frederick Beaufort Scott, C.M.G., late of the Royal Army Medical Corps (Zulu campaign 1879, Egypt 1882, and India 1892-97);—Lieutenant-Colonel James Edgar Baines, formerly of the Welsh Regiment (Kurram Field Force 1879-80);—Lieutenant-Colonel G. E. Owen Jackson, late of the Royal Marine Light Infantry (Crimea, China 1857-59, North China 1860);—Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Harenc, formerly of the 5th Lancers and 4th Bengal Cavalry (Afghan war 1880);—Captain and Brevet-Major F. Prendergast, R.A. (South African war 1899-1901);—Mr. W. T. Maude, special artist-correspondent of the *Daily Graphic* (Greco-Turkish war, Sudan campaign, South African campaign, and Somaliland);—Sir James Westland, K.C.S.I., formerly Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council and a member of the Council of India;—Mr. E. W. Trotter, Inspector-General of Registration and Superintendent of Stamps;—Khan Bahadur Cursetji Rustamji Thanawala, C.I.E., the Diwan of Ratlam and late Chief Justice of Baroda;—Mr. James Killen, of the Bombay Police (retired);—Captain William Llewellyn Morrison, R.N., retired (Alexandria 1882, Eastern Sudan 1884-85, Burma 1885-86);—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lachlan Young, formerly of the Bengal Infantry (Abyssinia 1868);—Colonel Laessøe, of the British Service in India, and formerly in the service of the Shah;—Captain Samuel Thomas Staughton, D.S.O., of the Victoria Mounted Rifles (South African campaign);—Colonel Patrick FitzGerald Gallwey, late Royal Artillery, and formerly Inspector-General of Artillery in India (Afghan war 1879-80);—Colonel Edmund Armitage Hardy, late of the 21st Lancers (Multan campaign 1848-49, and Mutiny);—Major Peter Marrow, formerly of the King's Dragoon Guards (Zulu war 1879);—Major-General Anthony Maxtone Murray, formerly of the Bombay Artillery (Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel William Pringle Harrison, formerly a member of the Oude Commission (China war 1860);—Colonel Norman Huskisson, formerly Commandant Yorkshire Light Infantry (New Zealand war 1863-65);—Mr. Kharsetji M. Shroff, a prominent citizen of Bombay;—Lieutenant-Colonel Bennett Richard Fleming Handy, late of the Liverpool Regiment (Afghan war 1878-79);—Colonel John F. Everett, V.D., Honorary Colonel 1st Wilts Rifle Volunteers (Crimea and Indian Mutiny campaigns);—Major Charles Henry F. Binstead, 1st Madras Lancers;—Sir James Macnabb Campbell, K.C.I.E., Bombay Civil Service;—General Sir John William Schneider, K.C.B., late of the Bombay Infantry (Southern Mahratta campaigns 1844-45, Mutiny campaign, Abyssinia 1868);—Prince Ragunhatha Tondiman, Jagirdar of Pudukotta;—Mr. Sayyid Mahmud, of Sitapur;—Mr. C. Stewart Murray, C.I.E. (Chin Lushai expedition 1889-91);—Mr. Cecil Alfred Pelham Rogers, I.C.S.;—Rev. Gerald Ormsby Vandeleur, formerly Chaplain to the Forces (Zulu war 1879);—Mr. C. F. Tremlett, H.M. Consul at Saigon;—Mr. William Henry Verner, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service;—His Highness the Sri Maharaja Sir G. N. Gajpati Rao, K.C.I.E., a leading zemindar of the Northern Sircars;—Mr. Hugh Gore Joseph, District Judge of Trichinopoly, Southern India;—Major Harry Francis Holland, of the 22nd Panjab Infantry (Burmese expedition 1885-86,

Chitral Relief Force 1895, North-west Frontier campaign 1897);—Mr. Richard Cornelius Critchett Walker, C.M.G., Principal Under-Secretary of State (New South Wales);—The Rev. William Matthews Lethbridge, formerly missionary under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Patna and Cawnpore;—Sir Lo Feng Luh, K.C.V.O., sometime Chinese Minister in London;—Captain Ganda Singh, Sardar Bahadur, Risaldar-Major of the 19th Bengal Lancers, and aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief (Mutiny campaign, with Fane's Horse in China, 1860, last Afghan war, and march from Kabul to Candahar); Mr. G. Parameswaren Pillai, ex-editor of the *Madras Standard*.

June 15, 1903.

THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

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OCTOBER, 1903.

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THE ANGLO-PERSIAN COMMERCIAL  
TREATY.

BY H. F. B. LYNCH.

THE recently-published Anglo-Persian Commercial Treaty is a remarkable diplomatic document. For one thing, it disposes of the notion so widely held that our Foreign Office is hide-bound with venerable traditions, and its activities hampered by reels of red tape. Downing Street emerges in an entirely new rôle, stepping forward with the youthful grace and shining armour of a *Lohengrin*, and aspiring, in spite of wrinkles, to the temperament, pulse, and thrill that distinguish the innovator. No Ibsen and no Wagner ever broke with more startling hardihood the musty fetters that encumbered their art. What a chatter there must be reigning among the shades of permanent officials, gathered together in a purgatory or paradise of their own around the gnarled stem of some ancient oak! How their bones must be turning in their graves! Is it the magnetism and personality of the New Diplomatist who presides over the Colonial Office that have called forth this midsummer mood among their earthly successors? They may know, but from us mortals the truth is veiled. We grope about in the dark, like our prototypes in the Platonic dialogue, conscious only that an unexpected flare has arisen outside our cave. *Ex oriente!*

Under such conditions the task of criticism is not easy.

We cannot see for the darkness about us and the light that is in our eyes. But *l'homme est seul dans ce monde avec sa raison*; and it must be on this humble and sublunary plane, with nothing but the intelligence of the *divine average*, that we approach the consideration of this notable addition to British State Papers. We are impressed at once by the fact that the treaty has been embodied in two foreign languages, Persian and French. This is a departure from time-honoured practice. It may be pedantic to look up precedents. Notable British treaties with Persia are those of Sir Harford Jones (1809), of J. Morier (1814), of Sir J. McNeill (1841). They are all done in English and Persian, the English text being signed by both the British and the Persian plenipotentiaries. The same applies to the Treaty of Paris (1857). Our commerce in Persia has hitherto been governed by a clause in Sir J. McNeill's treaty. It will now be controlled by the terms of a foreign text. That might not matter much, because the Foreign Office supplies a translation. But it is the form that impresses the Oriental quite as much as the substance, and it is scarcely credible that the Indian Government, the next-door neighbour of Persia, could have had a hand in the drafting of a paper which bears on the face of it such an apparent ignorance of Eastern ways of thought. How will the Persians regard the abandonment of our own language, the language of the Government of the great Empire at their doors?

The treaty was negotiated by the British Minister on the part of Great Britain; and, on the part of Persia, by the Persian Prime Minister and by Mr. Joseph Naus, the Belgian Administrator of the Persian Customs and Posts. The signature of the Persian Prime Minister was absent from the treaty as first published. This curious omission was pointed out by the press in England. The Foreign Office withdrew the treaty from circulation, and they have since published a new version, containing a note to the effect that the seal and signature of the Prime Minister were

affixed to the Persian text. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the precedents would require the English—or, in this case, the French—text to be signed by both the Persian plenipotentiaries. Such was certainly the procedure followed in the Harford Jones and the McNeill treaties. The Persian Prime Minister possesses some acquaintance with the French language, and if it was in deference to this aptitude that we turned our English into French, the least that we might have obtained was surely his signature.

A curiosity in the treaty of some importance to the British trade, which is the object of our solicitude, is the method prescribed for calculating the exchange. The pound sterling, which is current all over the world, has not seemed worthy even of mention in a British Commercial Treaty. It follows almost without saying that not a thought is bestowed upon the rupee. British and Indian merchants with their sovereigns and their rupees are invited to convert them into Russian roubles or French francs; and it is by the rouble and the franc that the treaty determines the relative value of the Persian keran and pound sterling or rupee. Yet Anglo-Indian and British trade is half the trade of Persia, and I do not remember having seen a French franc in the dominions of the Shah. But French is the polite language, and perhaps the franc is the polite coin. However this may be, great practical inconvenience has already been experienced at the ports of entry of our goods owing to this provision. And the Persian weights and measures are converted in the treaty into their French, not their English, counterparts. Shades of British Ministers to Persia who fought the French supremacy, what a revenge for the Napoleon whom you dispossessed!

One might multiply such features; but it would be tedious and it might be painful. There is, however, one provision of so extraordinary a nature that it deserves, and it cannot escape, notice. It is enacted that, if a British colony should cease to grant most-favoured-nation treatment

to imports from Persia, Persia shall have the right to retaliate upon the colony. It would seem that in a single sentence inserted in a Persian treaty we had given away our case against Germany in relation to Canada.

What is the history of the treaty? Hitherto our commerce in Persia has been governed by a most-favoured-nation clause. That clause rendered us subject to a very simple provision in the Treaty of Turkoman Chai (1828), fixing the Persian duties, both import and export, at 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. But of recent years, while we were fast asleep, our only serious competitor, Russia, has been making large loans to Persia on the security of the Customs. Two things then became necessary in the interests of Russia: First, to arrange for the better or more rigid collection of the Customs in Persia; and, secondly, so to manipulate the tariff that, while yielding a larger revenue, it should press more heavily on the trade of Great Britain. This dual object she successfully attained on the one hand by inducing the Persians to hand over their Customs to Belgian officials under Russian influence; and, on the other, by compelling them to substitute a specific for an *ad valorem* all-round tariff. The Belgians were introduced as recently as during the present year at some of the southern ports. And the tariff of Turkoman Chai was abolished by a new treaty between Russia and Persia, signed on October 27, 1901, but not made operative until the spring of this year, 1903.

The date of the Anglo-Persian treaty is February 9, 1903. Unless, therefore, the Russian treaty was kept a strict secret for a period of over a year, it can scarcely be claimed by our Government that the British treaty is due to haste. At all events, it cannot be doubted that our Foreign Office were well aware that a Russian treaty was under negotiation long ago. British merchants had placed them on their guard against consenting to a specific tariff. These old birds well knew the nature of the snare. Great, therefore, were their surprise and disappointment when, on February 14 of the present year, the new Russo-Persian tariff was promul-

gated and put into force at the southern ports. It is a very lengthy document, containing nine closely-printed pages of foolscap, with forty-two categories of imports, ten categories of exports, each category comprising an almost innumerable catalogue of articles upon each of which a specific duty is charged.

Under our most-favoured-nation clause we became subject to this tariff. But it was open to our Government to protest against its provisions, and to negotiate, it might be sooner, or it might be later, according to circumstances, a separate Commercial Treaty in the interests of our trade. The course which they actually took savours of desperation. Not only did they not repudiate—or only accept under strong protest—this audacious Russo-Persian machination, but they actually took it to their own bosom. In July of this year they published their own treaty. We then learnt that it had been signed *before* the promulgation of the Russo-Persian tariff; and, as a point of culmination, that it *was* the Russo-Persian tariff, page by page and word for word.

This may explain the French text, the French francs, and the Russian roubles, and the French weights and measures. Russian diplomacy is always clothed in a French dress, and we have thus become a party to a Russian tariff imposed upon Persia by purely political and in nowise by commercial pressure or the force of bargaining.

Two more points: It may be asked why a specific, or weight and measure, tariff should be more injurious to us than one calculated *ad valorem* of the goods. The answer, of course, is that our goods, owing to superiority of manufacture, are considerably cheaper at the ports of entry in South Persia than the corresponding Russian goods entering Persia on the north. They had, therefore, an advantage under the *ad valorem* system; weight for weight, less duty was levied upon them than upon the similar Russian goods—an advantage to which they were perfectly entitled. This point in their favour has now been lost. Manchester goods—the great staple of our export trade to Persia—will

pay on an average nearly double under the specific tariff the amount formerly levied *ad valorem*. Our trade with Persia in these goods alone may be put down at an annual value of getting on for two millions sterling. The duties on another article—almost exclusively supplied by us to Persia—namely, tea from India, have been increased by 95 per cent. Those levied upon such articles of export to Great Britain as wheat and barley have been increased to double or four times the former amounts. In the case of corresponding articles of export to Russia, such as dried fruits and rice, the duties have been entirely removed or materially reduced.

It is also interesting to inquire what has been the effect of the treaty. Of course, it is at present much too early to judge. The figures already at my disposal are not encouraging. Taking the port with which I am best acquainted—Mohammera, on the Karun River—I am informed that for the five months preceding the promulgation of the tariff, nearly double as many packages were imported as during the five subsequent months. Only 13 cases of tea came forward during the latter period, as against 750 cases during the former. And this, in spite of the fact that, owing to the persistent efforts of British merchants, the traffic up the Karun was just commencing to “boom.”

The more one judges this treaty—by the standard, of course, of ordinary intelligence—the greater grows one's bewilderment. Marvellous, indeed, it is, both in form and in substance. Yet the British Minister to Persia is not only a diplomatist of repute; he is also a scholar who has won his spurs. That both shape and matter were determined by circumstances with which we are not conversant is a hypothesis at once charitable and one that, perhaps, wounds less mortally both our *amour propre* as Englishmen and our respect for the powers that be. Let us hope that the circumstances will very soon change, and that this treaty will be supplanted by a more commonplace document. The world is, perhaps, not ripe for novelties of this nature, though launched upon us during midsummer days.

## THE PEASANT PROPRIETORS OF INDIA.\*

BY ROMESH DUTT, C.I.E.

WHEN the East India Company laid the foundations of their Eastern Empire in the latter half of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century, the British merchants who held their solemn deliberations at Leadenhall Street must have been fairly bewildered by the archaic customs and the strange institutions of the far-off land which gradually came under their rule. And no Indian question of the time was more puzzling to them than the land question, for no country in the world presented such a rich variety of land systems as India. Feudal landlords, exercising ruling powers, held estates side by side with peasant proprietors; and corporate village communities owned and managed villages like little self-governing republics, and paid their revenue collectively to the ruling power. Amidst all the din of wars and invasions—under the successive rule of the Rajput and the Afghan, the Moghal and the Mahratta—the real life of the nation centred in their own rural institutions, maintained through centuries, and guarded by immemorial custom. The historian of India often fills his pages with accounts of the great enterprises or the foolish excesses of kings and potentates; but the chronicler of the people's history finds a richer record in those living institutions which the people reared with their own hands, and for themselves. To the student of economics no study can be more interesting and instructive than the land systems of India in their rich variety; and to the practical administrator in India the question is of deeper importance, as connected with the welfare and happiness of a vast agricultural nation.

The Province of Bengal, the first acquisition of the East India Company, presented the land problem in its simplest form. The country was parcelled out into large estates,

\* Paper read at a meeting of the East India Association on July 14, 1903, the Right Hon. Leonard Courtney presiding.

owned by hereditary landlords, who, in the Mahomedan period, virtually ruled their own subjects, and commanded troops for the Imperial service. Much of our old literature of Bengal flourished under the patronage of these princely landlords. The greatest poet of the seventeenth century—Mukunda Ram—flourished in the court of the Raja of Midnapur; and the more brilliant poet, Bharat Chandra, of the eighteenth century, flourished in the court of Krishnagar. But even under these powerful landlords the cultivators were protected by their customary rights. And it is a pleasure to have to record that in Bengal the position and status of the landlords and the customary rights of the tenants have been maintained and strengthened by British legislation.

In Northern India the land system was somewhat more complex, for there the Company's servants found both the landlord system and the village community system prevailing side by side. And here, too, after many early blunders, British administrators sought to preserve the existing systems. The name of Robert Mertins Bird is connected with the first successful land settlement of Northern India, as the name of Cornwallis is connected with the permanent settlement of Bengal. Mertins Bird made his settlements between 1833 and 1842 with village communities, where he found them in working order, and with landlords where he found them owning large estates. The excessive land revenue demand was lowered from over 80 per cent. of the rental to 66 per cent.; and in 1855 it was still further lowered to 50 per cent., or one-half the rental.

Far away to the west, in the country of the Five Rivers, the sturdy Jat cultivator held and tilled his land, and to some extent maintained his customary rights, even under the turbulent rule of Sikh chieftains. And when the Punjab was annexed about the middle of the nineteenth century, two gifted administrators—the brothers Henry Lawrence and John Lawrence—stood up for the rights of the conquered nation. It is a curious, almost a romantic,

history, the history of the two brothers—the chivalrous Henry Lawrence fighting for the fallen chiefs, and the sturdy John Lawrence working for the cultivators. But between them the two brothers made British Punjab, and, after some blunders and the initial mistake of overassessment, they succeeded in conserving much that was good and enduring in the institutions of the people. In the Punjab of the present day we find petty cultivating landlords still living in village communities, side by side with great landlords owning extensive estates; and the Government land revenue demand is now limited, as in Northern India, to one-half the rental.

But it was in Southern India that the land system presented itself in its most interesting variety in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The province of Madras presented three distinct types. In the first place, there were semi-independent chiefs ruling their own estates in the Northern Circars and elsewhere, and a permanent settlement of the land revenue was made with them on the Bengal system. In the second place, there were the village communities of the Karnatic in good working order, each community holding lands under the State, paying the revenue collectively to the State, settling village disputes, and preserving the peace within its own limits. Thirdly and lastly, there were peasant proprietors in some districts of Madras—men who lived under no chief or polygar, men who had not grouped themselves into village communities, but who tilled their own fields and paid their revenue directly to the State.

Of all the debates which I have read in the venerable old Blue-Books of the early years of the last century, none are more interesting to me than the early debates about the Madras Land System. The great question forced itself on the attention of the administrators of the day: Shall the British Government make collective settlements with village communities, or shall they make a separate arrangement with each individual cultivator? Thomas Munro, who had

made his first settlements in Baramahal with individual cultivators, pressed for such settlements in all parts of the province of Madras, for "the Ryot is the real proprietor," he said. On the other hand, the Board of Revenue had concluded successful settlements with village communities in the Karnatic, and favoured that system. Where such settlement had succeeded best, "a picture of prosperity is drawn," they wrote, "of which a parallel may in vain be sought throughout the revenue records of this Presidency."

For many years—down to 1820, when Munro became Governor of Madras—the fortunes of the agricultural population of that province trembled in the balance, depending on a right decision of this momentous question. To us, after a lapse of nearly a century, it seems plain that the right decision would have been to foster the peasant proprietor system where it prevailed, and to conserve the village communities where they were in good working order. But the Court of Directors thought they must decide in favour of one system or the other, and they decided in favour of Munro's plan of separate settlements with individual cultivators. Village communities were thus ignored in the revenue arrangements of the province; and what we know as the Ryotwari System, or settlements with peasant proprietors, was introduced throughout Madras, except where estates had already been permanently settled. I myself look back on this decision with regret. The Village Community System was the earliest form of self-government developed in India; it had stood the test of a thousand years and more; it was suited to the habits and the social life of the people, and it would have been a gain to British administration in the present day if these self-governing institutions had been recognised and fostered. Sir Thomas Munro himself did his best to preserve them, but they ceased to be living institutions after their collective revenue functions had been withdrawn. The form was preserved, but life had departed.

The difficulties of the Ryotwari System became more and more manifest in Madras after the death of Sir Thomas Munro in 1827. The State-demand from the peasant proprietors was too high, even after Munro's reductions, and could never be paid. *Hukm-nāmas*, or orders, were accordingly issued from year to year, lowering the demand, raising it, and lowering it again, according to the condition of the harvests or the discretion of district collectors. Each collector had to deal with a hundred and fifty thousand peasant proprietors; the Government looked to him to realize as much of the ideal demand as was possible; the people adopted every means in their power to pay as little as they could. It was the most demoralizing land revenue system that prevailed in any part of British India even in the early half of the nineteenth century. And the records of Madras present to us the most painful evidence of coercion, of exactions, and even of torture, to realize an impossible revenue, and of fraud and corruption, on the other hand, to evade its payment. Madras officials spoke in the strongest terms on the universal poverty of the agricultural population, and the Supreme Government denounced the system, connected, as they said, "with the lowest state of pauperism and dependence." "Every man," they added, "must be degraded in his own opinion and relegated to a state of perpetual pupilage. The honest, manly bearing of one accustomed to rely on his own exertion can never be his; he can never show forth the erect and dignified independence of a man indifferent to the favour or frown of his superior."

At last a great reform was undertaken in 1855. It was resolved to make a general settlement and survey in Madras. It was resolved to lower the Government demand where it was excessive, to equalize it in other parts, and to fix it for thirty years. It was decided by the Court of Directors, in 1856, that what the Government demanded from the peasant proprietors was, not the entire economic rent of the lands they cultivated, but only a

portion of that rent, as land revenue. And it was laid down in 1864 by Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, that this land revenue demand should be limited generally to about one-half of the economic rent. Thus, if a cultivator, after paying the expenses of cultivation, got a clear net annual profit of £10 from his field, the Government would limit its demand to £5 as land revenue, and leave the other £5 to the cultivator and his family. This is a heavy tax of 50 per cent. on the profits of cultivation, but it is at least a clear rule, and the Madras cultivators demand that this limit should be strictly adhered to. Unfortunately, there are many fields, and even villages, in Madras, at the present time, where the Government assessment sweeps away much more than one-half of the net profits of cultivation, leaving to the peasant proprietors much less than the promised share of the fruits of their labour.

The greater portion of the Province of Bombay came under British rule after Madras, and the Bombay land system was shaped after the pattern of the Madras system. Bombay, too, had its village communities like Madras, and its mirasi-dars, or hereditary peasant proprietors, who paid a fixed rate to the State, and owned their holdings from generation to generation. "The mirasi-dar," wrote Captain Robertson of Poona in 1821, "is in no way inferior in point of tenure on its original basis, as described in the quotation, to the holder of the most undisputed freehold estate in England." "And the mirasi tenure," wrote Chaplin, Commissioner of the Deccan, "is very general throughout the whole of that part of the conquered country which extends from the Krishna to the range of the Ghats."

But these ancient rights and institutions did not receive due consideration from the East India Company, and the Madras system of making settlements with individual tenants was introduced in Bombay. A general survey and settlement of the country was begun in 1836; and the Joint Report, drawn up by Goldsmid, Wingate, and Davidson, in 1847, continues to this day to be the basis of the

Bombay land revenue system. But the assessment of the Government revenue was made, as was described before the House of Commons by Mr. Goldfinch in 1853, by the Survey Officer, "without any reference to the cultivator ; and when those new rates were introduced, the holder of each field was summoned to the collector and informed of the rate at which his land would be assessed in future ; and if he chose to retain it on those terms, he did ; if he did not choose, he threw it up."

This, it must be admitted, was treating the hereditary peasant proprietors of the Deccan in a somewhat cavalier fashion. And the rule of leaving the determination of the assessment almost entirely in the hands of the Survey Officer has been the weak point of the Bombay system to the present day. Nevertheless, the first settlement, begun in 1836, was on the whole moderate and judicious ; the thirty years' rule gave the people rest and relief, and Sir George Wingate's name is to this day held in honour and esteem in Bombay.

The weakness of the Bombay system came out very clearly at the revision of the settlement, which was commenced on the expiry of the first thirty years. Survey officers would be more than human if, being entrusted with almost irresponsible powers to alter assessments—without consulting the cultivators, and without the control of district officers—they did not make serious blunders. I am afraid there was a great deal of human nature, and of human weakness too, in the Bombay Survey Officers, and in the revision, which began in 1866, they made enormous enhancements in the assessment. The cultivators of the Deccan were thrown more completely into the hands of money-lenders ; the money-lenders refused to lend when there was a change in the law of limitation ; and the result was the agrarian disturbance of 1875. Rioting was committed, houses and shops were burnt down or looted, fodder stocks were destroyed, and the police and the military had to be called out to suppress the disturbance.

A Commission was then appointed to inquire into the causes of the disturbance, and one of the ablest members of the Commission was Mr. Auckland Colvin, now Sir Auckland Colvin, whose clear and lucid report shows how the revision assessment had been made.

For Sir Auckland Colvin points out strongly and forcibly the extent to which the Government demand had been enhanced in this revision. Compared with the first settlement, the enhancement was 90 per cent. at Indapur, 108 per cent. at Haveli, 85 per cent. at Pabal, 68 per cent. at Supa, and 199 per cent. at Bhimthari. "I think," writes Sir Auckland Colvin, "the above considerations justify me in placing the excessive enhancement of the revised settlements as third among the special causes which have combined to disturb the relations of debtor and creditor in the Poona district." The Deccan Ryots' Relief Act was then passed, but the power to enhance the revenue was not restricted to clear and definite grounds.

The revision settlement of Gujrat was commenced after that of the Deccan, and the results of the large enhancements made there became painfully manifest in the closing years of the century. The report of the last Famine Commission, headed by Sir Antony Macdonnell, disclosed the fact that the Government demand in that province had mounted to 20 per cent. of the produce of the soil, which is nearly double of the rents which private landlords in Bengal realize from their tenants, according to the last official report. I am glad to state that the Government of India has now recognised its mistake, and the Government of Bombay is now engaged in lowering the assessments, which had been pitched too high in Gujrat at the last revision.

The mere narration of the facts which I have stated above suggests the necessity of some improvement in the methods of assessment in Madras and in Bombay. The subject is one of the gravest importance, as it affects the welfare of millions of people in an agricultural country. To Englishmen who have passed the best years of their life

in administrative work in India, this subject can never cease to be interesting; and however much they may differ in their opinions, there is not one among them who is not anxious to secure for the agricultural population of India a position of security, and comfort, and contentment, under the Imperial rule of England.

Animated by this object, a number of retired officials, familiar with the revenue and judicial work of India, submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State for India, three years ago, recommending the adoption of some guiding principles in the administration of the Indian land revenue. The memorial was forwarded to Lord Curzon, and the memorialists can fairly congratulate themselves on the action which Lord Curzon has taken, and the decision to which he has arrived on some of the points raised. Without committing himself to any hard-and-fast rules, Lord Curzon has, in general terms, recognised the soundness of three out of the five principles which we recommended for adoption.

1. We recommended that where there is no permanent settlement land settlements should be made for long terms of thirty years. Lord Curzon has pointed out that this is the rule in Northern India, Madras, and Bombay, and he has given us hopes in paragraph 18 of his Resolution that in the Punjab and the Central Provinces the question of making settlements for thirty years is one "to which careful attention will be given by the Government of India upon a suitable occasion." We only hope the suitable occasion will arise before Lord Curzon leaves India.

2. We recommended that where the land revenue is paid by landlords, and is not permanently settled, it should be limited to 50 per cent. of the *actual* rental. Lord Curzon, in paragraph 38 of his Resolution, has pointed out that the "standard of 50 per cent. of the assets is one which is almost uniformly observed in practice," and that "assessments have ceased to be made on prospective assets."

3. We recommended that a limitation should be placed

on local cesses imposed on lands in addition to the land revenue. Lord Curzon, in paragraph 25 of his Resolution, does not think the local taxation either onerous or excessive, but in reference to its distribution has some doubts "whether it is not better, as opportunities occur, to mitigate imposts which are made to press upon the cultivating classes more severely than the law intended. The Government of India would be glad to see their way to offer such relief."

The memorialists have, therefore, as I have said before, reasons to congratulate themselves on this recognition of three principles which they advocated—a recognition which is accompanied by an assurance or a hope that they are, or will be, eventually carried out in practice.

But with reference to our two remaining recommendations, which especially affected the condition of the peasant proprietors of Madras and of Bombay, we have obtained no assurance and no hope of redress. It is therefore that I have considered it necessary to plead their case once more in the present paper, and I need hardly add that for what I urge to-day I alone am responsible.

The two recommendations we made with regard to cultivators paying revenue direct to the State were, briefly: (1) That assessments should be made within certain definite limits in proportion to the produce of the soil; (2) that enhancements should be made only on certain definite grounds, like increase in cultivation or increase in prices.

With regard to the first point—*i.e.*, in the matter of assessments—the general rule which the Indian Government has recognised and accepted, after a century of varied experiences in different provinces, is that *the State-demand is limited to half the actual rental or half the economic rent*. This rule was laid down by Lord Dalhousie for Northern India in 1855, and it was laid down for Southern India by Sir Charles Wood in 1864. I will not stop to point out that this demand of 50 per cent. of the net income from cultivation is a higher land tax than is now known in any civilized country. What I now

urge is that this limit, fixed by the Government, may be rigorously and even generously adhered to in practice, in Madras and in Bombay, with respect to every single holding and village; and that in every case, where the cultivator is assessed at over half the profits of his cultivation, he may be allowed a fair chance to prove his case and to obtain his redress. I make no reflections against Indian revenue officers. I have been a revenue officer myself for over twenty-five years of my life, and I have watched the conscientious care with which assessments have been revised in parts of India, like Orissa, where there is generally no permanent settlement. But when an officer has to deal with a hundred thousand tenants within a certain time, when he has to depend largely on low-paid subordinates who think that to raise the revenue is the object of revisions, when he has to base his revision on the estimated average produce of a hundred thousand holdings, mistakes are unavoidable. The mistakes were so serious in the Deccan that they led to an agrarian disturbance in 1875, and they were so serious in Gujrat that the Government revenue in 1900 was found to be nearly double the rents of private landlords in Bengal. And such mistakes cannot be avoided in the future unless the rule of half-rental is clearly kept in view, and unless every cultivator is allowed a swift and easy redress when he can prove that the rule is violated. To enforce the rule more effectually, we recommended in our memorial that this half the estimated rent should in no single case exceed one-fifth the total produce of a field. We put in this additional proviso because we found that in the Standing Information for the Madras Presidency, published in 1879, there was a rule fixing the limit of the Government assessment at so high a figure as one-third or two-fifths of the produce of the field. The Madras Government now explains that this rule does not exist, but was included in the compilation through the "misapprehension of the compiler." It is strange that the misapprehension was not pointed out and corrected for

over twenty years, until we submitted our memorial. Anyhow, it is a fact, which I ascertained during my recent visit to many districts in Madras and Bombay, that the Government assessment does in numerous cases mount up to one-third or more of the produce, which virtually means the entire economic rent; and this will be proved by village officials themselves if any public inquiry be instituted. What I urge, and what I insist upon, is that this state of things may not exist in the future; that, for the welfare and protection of the millions of peasant proprietors in India, the rule of limiting the assessment to half the economic rent be rigidly enforced; and that an easy method of redress be given to cultivators whenever it is violated.

With regard to the second point—*i.e.*, in the matter of enhancements made at revision settlements—we desired to place the peasant proprietors of Southern India in the same position of security in which tenants of private landlords have been placed in Northern India by British legislation. It is strange that peasant proprietors, paying the land revenue direct to the State, should lack the security which is enjoyed by tenants of private landlords, paying rents to their landlords; but such is the case in India. Nearly half a century ago, Lord Canning passed a law for Bengal, precluding private landlords from enhancing rents, except on clear and definite and equitable grounds, such as increase of cultivation or increase in prices. Such laws were subsequently made for every province in India by later administrators — Lord Lawrence, Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin, and last, though not the least, by that distinguished administrator, the Right Honourable Sir Antony Macdonnell, who, with his vast Indian experience, is now helping the British Government to solve the agrarian problem in Ireland. He was the real author of the last Rent Act of Bengal, passed in 1885; and I shall always remember with satisfaction and pride the humble assistance that I was able to render him in the framing of that great and much-needed Act. And subsequent to the passing of

that Act, Sir Antony Macdonnell embodied the sound principles of the Bengal Act in his agrarian legislation in Northern India. Everywhere in India private landlords have been restrained from enhancing rents from their tenants, except on clear, definite, and equitable grounds, intelligible to the tenants themselves. What we now ask is that the Government itself should be similarly restrained from enhancing the land revenue payable by peasant proprietors, except on such clear, definite, and equitable grounds, intelligible to the peasant proprietors themselves.

Let us compare for one moment the condition of the Bengal tenant with the Madras or Bombay peasant proprietor. The Bengal ryot knows and understands the clear and definite grounds on which his landlord can claim enhancement; the Bombay and Madras ryot does not know, and does not understand, the grounds on which the State will claim enhancement at the next settlement. The Bengal ryot reckons beforehand the limits of his landlord's claims; the Bombay and Madras ryot cannot calculate beforehand what the settlement officer's claims will be. The Bengal ryot can appeal to courts against unjust claims; the Bombay and Madras ryot has no easy method of redress against mistakes in assessment or enhancement. Certainty and definiteness in the rental make the Bengal ryot confident in his rights, and have enabled him to better his condition, and to be freer from the grasp of money-lenders than he was thirty years ago. Uncertainty and indefiniteness in the State demand and the State enhancements take away from the possibility as well as from the motive of saving in Madras and Bombay; and the gravest problem of Indian administration at the present day is to save the peasant proprietors from sinking deeper and deeper in debt and poverty. I urge, therefore, that the same security which has been given to cultivators in Bengal may be given to cultivators in Madras and Bombay; for I feel confident that security is the basis of all agricultural prosperity. It is this security, this definiteness in his

liabilities, which has made the Bengal ryot the resourceful and self-relying man that he is to-day ; and it is this security, this definiteness in his liabilities, which the Bombay and the Madras cultivator is asking for to-day.

In concluding this paper, I wish only to remark that I advocate no revolutionary changes, no essential modifications in the land systems of India. Those systems are largely based on the ancient land systems built up by the people themselves ; and during more than a century of British rule the people of the different provinces have lived under those systems. I do not believe in changing the institutions of a country by a stroke of legislation, and I do not think it wise statesmanship to try to recast the social fabric of a people according to economic or legislative theories. I accept the different land systems in India as they exist to-day—the landlord system of Northern India, and the Ryotwari System of Southern India—and accepting these systems, I ask for some definite rules, affording the same protection to the peasant proprietors of Southern India—firstly, against excessive assessments, and secondly, against undue enhancements—as have been afforded to the tenants of private landlords in Northern India by British legislation.

## INDIAN REVENUE AND LAND SYSTEMS.

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

AT page 187 of the January number for 1903 of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, the following words are written: "Perhaps the most remarkable *obiter dictum* during the debate was one by Sir James Westland—that is, *if* he was correctly understood. When he claimed, as the result of the scheme, that 'exchange' has remained steady, he, on being reminded that this was only secured by artificial and arbitrary means, replied, to the effect, that the method does not matter so long as the end (removal of 'loss by exchange' from the Budget figures) is accomplished!" *If* Sir James has been correctly reported, he must belong to that class of people who, as Adam Smith says, "consider the blood of the people as nothing in comparison with the revenue of the prince." In other words, they have no regard for the welfare of any people so long as revenue for the State is obtained one way or another. As the real wealth of every country consists in the *value* of its *annual* produce from its land and labour, any method which prevents the people from realizing this value in full by artificial and arbitrary means, such as "forcing up the rate of exchange," must tend to diminish the value of the products of land and labour. If the people at home are compelled to pay more for remitting money to India, and the surplus so obtained is invested in Consols at  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. in the name of the Secretary of State for India, what possible benefits can the community at large derive from such an arrangement? If the people of England find out, as they very soon will, that this loss falls entirely on them, they will very soon cease to trade with India for her products, and seek other markets in the world to supply themselves with the articles they want, where no such artificial and arbitrary methods are practised; and in the

end the industry and trade of India will be ruined, and then how will her Budget figures be better secured? This interference with the bargaining, or higgling, in the markets of the world by any Government, always creates distrust amongst all peoples, for no one knows how much or how far this interference may prevail. If the Government of India would only take in hand the legitimate means by which it can develop the industry and trade of India, there would be no difficulty about the Budget figures. Unfortunately, we have omitted to provide those means, and have all along followed the old Indian custom of extracting all we possibly can from the people, and leaving their industries to starve. In summing up the general principles advocated in his great work, "The Wealth or Welfare of Nations," Adam Smith writes: "All systems, either of preference or of restraints, therefore, being thus completely taken away, the obvious and simple system of natural liberty establishes itself of its own accord. Every man, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interests, his own ways, and to bring his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man or order of men. The Sovereign is completely discharged from a duty in the attempting to perform which he must always be exposed to innumerable delusions, and for the proper performance of which no human wisdom or knowledge could ever be sufficient—the duty of superintending the industry of private people, and of directing it towards the employment most suitable to the interests of the society. According to the system of natural liberty, the Sovereign has only three duties to attend to—three duties of great importance, indeed, but plain and intelligible to common understandings. *First*, the duty of protecting the society from the violence and invasions of other independent societies; *secondly*, the duty of protecting, as far as possible, every member of the society from the injustice or oppression of every other member of it, or the duty of establishing an exact administration of justice; and, *thirdly*, the duty of

erecting and maintaining certain public works and certain public institutions, which it can never be for the interests of any individual, or small number of individuals, to erect and maintain, because the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or small number of individuals, though it may frequently do much more than repay it to a great society"—and so promote the real *wealth*, the annual produce of the land, and labour of the society. About seventy years after the publication of "The Wealth of Nations," England adopted this "obvious and simple system of natural liberty," having been driven to this policy by the alarming poverty and discontent prevailing amongst all classes of the society, except the landlord class. It is needless to say anything now as to the progress England has made in all industries during the past half-century. The only other country which has adopted this policy is New South Wales, which is, perhaps, the most prosperous and progressive of all the Colonies. This policy, which has proved itself to be so favourable in promoting the real wealth of a country, has, of course, been utterly unknown in countries like India, or in any of those countries where a despotic rule has prevailed for centuries; and the general poverty prevailing in them all, with the utter stagnation of all industrial improvements, from generation to generation, clearly shows that these Governments have totally failed in their duties towards their subjects. India is no exception to this general rule; there the people have for all ages been subject to a land-tax levied in a most crude and arbitrary manner, under cover of one system or another, which we, unfortunately, have inherited and adopted to a very great extent. The leading idea in all these systems is much the same: the life-blood of the people is nothing in comparison with the revenue of the Sovereign; and as this had to be secured in one lifetime, at any cost to the society, a host of officials has always been employed in merely collecting this revenue, whilst the land has been left without those means which are absolutely required to make its cultivation at all

profitable. Every land surveyor in England will tell you that successful agriculture is impossible unless the land is supplied with an abundant water-supply of good quality, and with good roads for carrying on farming operations and conveying the produce to markets *at the right time* and in the cheapest manner possible. Without these prerequisites of production, canals and railways are of little or no use, except to those people who live in their immediate vicinity. This general principle has been well pointed out by Adam Smith when he says: "In France, however, the great post-roads—the roads which make the communication between the principal towns of the kingdom—are in general kept in good order, and in some provinces are even a good deal superior to the greater part of the turnpike roads of England. But what we call the cross-roads—that is, *the far greater part of the roads in the country*—are entirely neglected, and are in many places absolutely impassable for any heavy carriages. In some places it is even dangerous to travel on horseback, and mules are the only conveyance which can safely be trusted. The Prime Minister of an ostentatious Court may frequently take pleasure in executing a work of splendour and magnificence, such as a great highway (canal or railway, for instance), which is frequently seen by the principal nobility, whose applause not only flatters his vanity, but even contributes to support his interests at Court. But to execute a great number of *little works*, in which nothing that can be done can make any great appearance or excite the smallest degree of admiration in any traveller, and which, in short, have nothing to recommend them *but their extreme utility*, is a business which appears in every respect too mean and paltry to merit the attention of such a magistrate. Under such an administration, therefore, such works are almost always entirely neglected." No words could have better described the railway administration in India during the past half-century; the advocates of this system have never ceased to din into the ears of the public in England "the incalcu-

lable benefits" the railways have conferred on India, without producing the shadow of evidence to support their assertions. *Those works of extreme utility*, without which it is impossible to make the land of any country valuable, have been entirely neglected, being too mean and paltry for the consideration of such very great minds; and the results have been that the country has been brought to the verge of ruin, and its whole population are in the most pitiable condition of hopeless poverty, misery, and desolation. It is of little or no use to complain of the assessments being too high; you cannot get blood out of a stone, and you can no more make the cultivation of land profitable to landlord or tenant unless you attend *most carefully* to its requirements. The law relating to production from land can no more be neglected than the law of gravitation, and unless you afford the land those means which it absolutely requires to make the cultivation of it at all profitable, you may whistle for revenue. The experiment has been tried for more than twenty centuries, not only in India, but in all other countries where a mere system of collecting land revenue has prevailed, and the results have been the same in all ages—the population has remained always in the same stagnant condition, living in squalor, filth, and in the deepest dejection and poverty. How best to administer a country in this state of society Adam Smith has shown in his great work in the following sentences:

"In almost all countries the revenue of the Sovereign is drawn from that of the people; *the greater the revenue of the people*, therefore, the greater the *annual* produce of their land and labour, the more they can afford to the Sovereign. It is his interest to increase, therefore, as much as possible *that annual* produce. But if this is the interest of every Sovereign, it is peculiarly so of one whose revenue, like that of the Sovereign of Bengal, arises chiefly from a land-rent. That rent must be in proportion to the quantity and value of the produce, and both the one and the other *must depend upon the extent of the markets*.

"The quantity will always be suited with more or less of exactness to the consumption of those who can afford to pay for it, and the *price* which they will pay will always be in proportion to the eagerness of their competition. It is the interest of such a Sovereign, therefore, to open the most extensive market for the produce of his country, to allow the most perfect freedom of commerce, in order to increase as much as possible the number and the competition of buyers, and upon this account to abolish, not only all monopolies, but all restraints upon the transportation of the *home* produce from one part of the country to another, upon its exportation to foreign countries, or upon the importation of goods of any kind for which it can be exchanged. He is in this manner *most likely* to increase both the quantity and value of that produce, and consequently of his own share of it, or of his own revenue" (Book IV., chap. vii., p. 221).

Again, in the same spirit does he say at p. 313, Book V., chap. i. :

"In China, besides in Hindustan, and in several other Governments of Asia, the revenue of the Sovereign arises almost altogether from a land-tax, or land-rent, *which rises or falls with the rise and fall of the annual produce of the land*. The great interest of the Sovereign, therefore, his revenue, is in such countries necessarily and immediately connected with the cultivation of the land, with the greatness of its produce, and with the value of its produce. But in order to render that produce *both* as great and as valuable as possible, it is necessary to procure to it as extensive a market as possible, and consequently to establish the freest, the easiest, and the *least* expensive communication between all the parts of the country, which can be done only by means of the best roads and the best navigable canals."

And yet again, Adam Smith says at p. 268, Book IV., chap. ix. :

"The Sovereigns of China, of ancient Egypt, and of the different kingdoms into which at different times Hindu-

stan has been divided, have always derived the whole, or by far the most considerable part, of their revenue from some sort of land-tax or land-rent. This land-tax or land-rent, like the tithe in Europe, consisted in a certain proportion—a fifth, *it is said*—of the produce of the land, which was either delivered in kind or paid in money, according to a certain valuation, and which, therefore, varied from year to year, according to all the variations of the produce. It was natural, therefore, that the Sovereigns of those countries should be particularly attentive to the interests of agriculture, upon the prosperity or declension of which immediately depended the *yearly* increase or diminution of their own revenue."

The above extracts have been made with a view to see how far the principles laid down in them for developing and promoting the cultivation of land agree with modern ideas, experience and practice, in civilized countries, and if in India those principles have been tried and adopted to enhance the great industry of the country, which is agriculture. In some points no doubt Adam Smith was wrong; for instance, in saying the share of the Sovereign in such countries of the annual produce of the land was one-fifth, he had probably in his mind Joseph's law in Egypt, but that law was soon abolished; and in India, where violence and oppression were rampant for centuries, the share of the Sovereign, or whoever had obtained power by war and conquest, appears to have varied from one-half to three-quarters of the produce of the land, and a most pernicious system was introduced, by which all progress and improvement were entirely prohibited, by which the people were held in the most hopeless bondage, both to the collectors of revenue and the money-lenders. This system was, and is prevailing even now to a large extent, that in unfavourable seasons, when the people could not possibly pay the land-tax, it was held in arrears against them, and they were *compelled* to pay up in full in more favourable seasons, both in revenue to the State and in exorbitant interest to the

money-lenders, so that it was impossible for them either to maintain or improve their stock ; hence the cultivation of the land has made no progress in twenty centuries in India, and the implements of agriculture are as rude now as they were in England in the time of the Druids. It has been shown that all land surveyors are agreed, in estimating the value of land for agricultural purposes, it *must be provided* with an abundant water-supply of good quality, convenient for the use of man and beast, as without this great necessary of life, the land cannot be economically or profitably cultivated, for neither man nor beast can be maintained in any efficient working condition ; that the roads should be good, affording the greatest facilities for all farming purposes, and for conveying the produce of the land, *at the right time*, to the most extensive markets. As a gradient of 1 in 80 adds 25 per cent. to the cost of carriage, it can be easily imagined what a burden this one item is on the people of India, where no such thing as a good road has ever existed ; in fact, the people even now do not know how to construct a road properly, and their country carts and bullocks cannot carry more than about one-third of a ton, whereas in any properly made road the same vehicle could easily convey double the load, so saving 50 per cent. in cost of carriage. There are but few bridges, and the wide, sandy beds of Indian rivers require two or three pairs of bullocks to draw a common bandy across it ; and then the men and animals have to rest, perhaps, for a whole day, when a common bridge would enable them to cross easily in a quarter of an hour. It is quite impossible to give any exact figures to show how much this country loses for want of a good water-supply and good common roads, but without exaggeration of any sort or kind it may be safely asserted that the cost of carriage adds 100 per cent. to the expenses of cultivating the land, and if this one burden alone were removed, the people would have no difficulty whatever in paying the moderate rate of assessment levied by the British Government, whereas this low rate is even now

complained of, and declared to be an intolerable burden. The fault lies entirely with the revenue authorities; they will persist in collecting land revenue according to the ancient practice of Cutcherry Brahmins, who are as ignorant as they possibly can be of the law which limits the production from land, and have always had recourse to the most violent means of coercion to compel the people to pay up the revenue for the State; so much has this been the practice in India, in all ages, that not half a century ago the British Government had to take very strong measures to put down torture of the most inhuman kind in the collection of its revenue.

J. S. Mill says land can be *inferior only* in fertility or in situation: the former requires better means to be adopted for its cultivation, the latter requires better means for conveying the produce to markets. He therefore agrees with all land surveyors and Adam Smith; in fact, he has only expressed their principles in a more concise form. Let us now see what Mr. Hawkshaw, M.A., the President Elect of the Civil Engineers Institute, London, says on this subject in the admirable address he delivered in November, 1902:

"Canals could not compete with railways in this country (England), because railways offered greater conveniences. The physical configuration and water-supply of a country determines and greatly limits the places where a canal can be made, and the possible direction does not always coincide with traffic requirements. Railways are more flexible than canals, and can be carried to more places where they are wanted. So canals have ceased to be made, or to be worked, where, as in many localities, railways offered greater convenience. Now that steam and other motors have been improved, and since the restrictions on them have been removed, roads must in some measure restrict the extension of railways, as railways did that of canals, and for the same reason, *because roads are more flexible than railways*—that is, can be taken at a smaller cost to where they are wanted, and to places which a railway cannot

reach. Not only in this country, but abroad, roads will have to be made suitable for motor transport. Such roads have been suggested for India as feeders to the railways.

"We are about to see great changes in the traffic on roads; it becomes less local. Motors traverse the roads of several counties in one journey in a few hours. Heavy loads are taken long distances by steam-motors. Workmen now in town and country go to their work on bicycles. Is not the time coming when the *main roads* should be placed under our management throughout the country, and become a national charge, and not a charge on the local rates? The present system is not satisfactory in its results. A main road in one county may be completely cup up by steam traffic, while the continuation of the same road in an adjoining county is quite unaffected by it, as I have seen myself. Even in the same district the main roads are not equally well maintained throughout. For a given road the maximum load to be carried on a wheel should be fixed, and no one should be liable to be fined for excessive traffic at the discretion of the local surveyors, as is now the case, unless the regulation weight be exceeded. It is not unreasonable to ask that *roads* should be able to secure for the passage over them of all produce of the land to markets on any lawful conveyance free of extra charge. In many cases *gradients* might be improved and widths increased at no great cost. 'Good roads with organized steam-traction would be more useful to *farming*—one of the *largest industries* of the country—than light railways.' It will, however, be a misfortune to the country if the advent of road motor-traffic should unduly interfere with the progress of railways, as the advent of railways did with that of canals. 'Canals, railways, and roads are all necessary for the carrying trade of the country.' France has spent not far short of 100 millions on waterways, and more than twenty years ago made them free of toll. Roads may be more justly maintained by imperial taxation, as they are used by all

the population, whereas canals can only be used by a small part of it."

It is, then, quite evident from the above quotations that all modern opinions, experience, and practice confirm the principles laid down by Adam Smith more than a century ago for increasing the real wealth of any people—the produce from their land and labour—by affording them, especially in countries like India, where agriculture is the principal industry, dependent entirely on a good and abundant water-supply to secure the crops from being lost by long droughts, the best, the freest, the cheapest facilities of access to the most extensive markets of the world, to enable them not only to accumulate capital for themselves, but also to yield the largest revenue possible to the Government on a solid basis. As Mr. Hawkshaw says, for this purpose "canals, railways, and roads" are absolutely necessary to dispose of all surplus produce to the greatest advantage, not only to the producer, but to the consumers, who, of course, seek to supply their wants in the cheapest and best markets. It is quite true that canals are less flexible than railways generally, but that depends largely on the configuration of any country, and the manner in which its water-supply is conserved. In a small area like England and Wales, where the country is so beautifully diversified by hill and dale, canals cannot, of course, supply the same facilities of transport which railways and good common roads can afford, and their cost of construction would perhaps be out of all proportion to the convenience for *mere traffic*; but this general rule does not apply to a country like India, which is perhaps thirty times as large as England and Wales together, and its surface comprises generally great broad plains, in which canals can be very easily established, not only for navigable purposes, but also for irrigating the land on both sides, provided always that the water-supply has been secured for such works in large storage reservoirs, of which we will speak by-and-by. Mr. Hawkshaw shows very clearly

how necessary good roads are in every country, from their greater flexibility, as compared with canals and railways, but he confines his attention, apparently, to the *main* roads of a country like England; but for India, with its immense area, we must attend quite as much to the *cross-roads*, which Adam Smith shows to be, in the case of France, works of the *most extreme utility* to the people in general, but sadly neglected, simply because they make no great show, and do not therefore gratify the vanity of a great Minister, or enable him to make any ostentatious display before the world. But so far as utility is concerned, such works are of the very greatest importance and value to the *people* employed in cultivating the land.

Having shown on the best and highest authorities how the real wealth of a country ought to be developed and promoted, let us see how this has been attended to in India in the various systems of collecting land revenue which have prevailed in that country for centuries, and which we have adopted and continued with some modifications. For this purpose we have a volume lately published by the Government of India, containing their resolution and the replies made to them by the several administrations under them, refuting the charges made against the British Government by a Mr. Dutt; and we have a resolution of the Board of Revenue, Madras, published in the *Madras Mail* of January 9, 1903, on the expansion of cultivation in that Presidency. Examine these documents through and through, and you will not find one word in them to show that the slightest attention whatever has ever been paid by any one of the Revenue authorities towards promoting the real wealth of the country by any one of those means which Adam Smith and all modern authorities agree in declaring every country must be provided with, to make its land and labour as productive as possible. So far as any of these authorities are concerned, and sharing their opinions on this all-important subject, we have in evidence a writer in one of the leading articles

of the *Madras Mail*, declaring "the foundation of our revenue system depends entirely on the registering of the holdings"—as if the people would not take care to register their holdings if their land was worth holding at all, as they already do in the Delta districts of Madras. There is no doubt whatever that the Government of India have completely vindicated the British Government from the charges made by Mr. Dutt against their rule. His charges were made in the usual way, so common in the East since the days of Rehoboam, King of Israel; for Mr. Dutt himself knows nothing about the great law limiting the production from land all over the world, or the principles laid down by Adam Smith for ameliorating, in the best manner possible, the effects of that law, and so enhancing the value of all produce from the land by diminishing the cost of labour as much as possible, and opening out the country to the most extensive markets of the world by affording the land the best and cheapest means of transport, the only means by which land can be profitably cultivated, even if well supplied with water.

But the strangest thing of all is to find Englishmen, who have had the benefits of all this knowledge and experience for over a century, deliberately sitting down and adopting the most crude land revenue system ever heard of in the world, and this notwithstanding its complete failure has been proved over and over again for centuries by the fearful poverty and stagnant condition prevailing amongst all people subjected to such a rule. There is, we fear, very little excuse for us in this matter: "we knew the good and chose to follow the evil," and we "have reaped as we have sown." The awful famines which have so frequently prevailed in India, accompanied with plague, cholera, and pestilences, are the just judgments of God upon us for neglecting the interests of all the subjects placed under us by Him, in favour of a caste system which is based on the grossest selfishness and the most stupid superstition which the world has ever seen or heard of.

A writer in one of the English reviews, who poses as an authority on Indian affairs in England, quotes Lord Bacon as saying that "innovations in religion are the chief or principal causes of seditions"; this is evidently meant as a covert attack on Christianity and the work of the missionaries in India, in support of the Brahmin caste system of the country, by which all other castes have been held in the cruellest bondage in all ages, and kept in the grossest ignorance and poverty. Unfortunately for this writer, Lord Bacon is the very worst authority he could have quoted for his purpose. No doubt his lordship does include "innovation in religion" amongst the *causes and motives* of seditions, which are many, but the *matter* of seditions, he says, are of two kinds, "much poverty and much discontentments," "*for the rebellions of the belly are the worst.*" And the *first* remedy, or prevention, he says, is to remove, by all means possible, that *material* cause of sedition whereof we spoke, "which is 'want and poverty' in the estate." And in commenting on the same seditions in the fable of Jupiter and Briareus, it is said: "This is an emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the goodwill of the *common people.*" Now, these are the very people who are most oppressed by every system of collecting land or other revenue ever practised in India, of which the Cutcherry Brahmins are the sole authors, for their only idea of increasing the revenue is to enhance the taxation of the *common people* and *exempt themselves from all burdens*, leaving the land without any proper means for its cultivation; hence the great poverty, want, and distress always prevailing amongst such peoples. As to dragging in Lord Bacon as being in any way opposed to the spread of the Gospel, this writer makes another very serious mistake, for in the "Advancement of Learning" his lordship does not hesitate to declare: "But no philosophy, sect, or religion, law or discipline, *in any age*, has so highly exalted the good of communion, and so far depressed the good of individuals,

as the *Christian faith*; whence may clearly appear that one and the same God gave those laws of nature to the creatures and the *Christian law* to men, and hence we read that some of the elect and holy men, in an ecstasy of charity and impatient desire of the *good of communion*, rather wished their names blotted out of the book of life than that their brethren should miss of salvation" (Book VII., chap. i.).

Those pseudo-Britons who have been infected with the Cutcherry Brahminism of India, and are always warning us against any interference with the religious prejudices of such people, should explain, as Lord Bacon does, how these people have in all ages promoted the *good of communion*, and sacrificed themselves in order to attain this object for *their brethren*. Ask any one of these high-caste individuals to give a helping hand to assist a sick or maimed man of a lower caste, and you will very soon see him hurrying off to the other side of the way, like a priest or any lusty hypocrite, and hastening to wash himself from the pollution of even such a suggestion to such a self-righteous individual; Is it, then, any wonder that when we maintain the systems of administrations devised by such cunning, crafty individuals in all ages, and who have never hesitated to enforce their decrees by inhuman torture, in order to get every farthing out of the working classes, or such common people—as they delight to stigmatize all others who do not belong to their caste—this country should have remained in a condition of chronic poverty, distress, and ignorant superstition? and is it not lamentable to think that Englishmen are warned not to interfere on any account with the religious prejudices of those people who are authors of such fearful abominations? These are the very people who, under British rule, are always claiming to have the rights and privileges of British subjects, in the Indian Congress, and in the native press, and are always declaring the Government have failed to administer the country in accordance with her late Majesty's proclamation, without reference "to

creed, caste, or colour," whilst they are quite ready and willing to practise every sort and kind of oppression against all who are not of their own peculiar caste. Is it not, then, a shame and a disgrace to us that a single Englishman should be found endeavouring to prevent the spread of the blessings of the Gospel of peace and goodwill towards all men in India, without reference to any caste whatever? Having shown the defects of our administration in India by not sufficiently considering and establishing the proper means for increasing the real wealth of its people, the *annual* produce of its land and labour, and having shown what these means are, let us now see what advantages can be secured to all the people by affording them those same means, at what probable cost, and towards enhancing the Government revenue.

The *first* great want in India is undoubtedly a good and abundant water-supply, without which their great industry, "agriculture," cannot by any possibility be successfully carried on; even in countries where the rain-fall is far better distributed in a year than it is in the tropics this subject is now considered to be one of "ever-growing importance," as populations are increasing, for many purposes, to promote the economies of life. How important, then, must it be in India, where not a blade of grass can be grown without water! When Lord Curzon declared, soon after assuming the reins of the Government of India, that by "a carefully prepared estimate," which had been furnished to him, it was impossible to extend the area of irrigation by more than three million acres, he made a most serious mistake. Such an estimate shows very clearly, whosoever prepared it, that he had no idea of the rainfall of the country, its run-off, or the manner of conserving it in the most economical manner, or of distributing it to the greatest advantage possible. It has never yet been explained on what *data* this estimate had been prepared, and as such an estimate is calculated to affect the lives and welfare of two or three hundred millions of human beings, and the lives of

all animals living in this country, it is most extraordinary that so curious a phenomenon in nature should not have been made more clearly manifest to all the world. We have any number of reports and papers dealing with the water-supply of regions all over the world; in all these documents are to be found the data on which hydraulic works have been successfully established in every quarter of the earth. This subject has been carefully discussed in the *Proceedings* of the Civil Engineer Institutes, all over the world, and, from Astronomers-Royal downwards, scientific men of all shades of opinion have contributed their observations and experience on a matter which is of such "ever-growing importance" to all the populations of the world; yet here in India we are informed that a continent possessing an area of about one and three-quarters of a million square miles, having the most stupendous mountain range of the world, running for thousands of miles all along its northern boundary; having also other hill ranges varying in height from 7,000 to 3,000 feet above sea-level, intersecting the country in all directions; having enormous plains through which large rivers run, and having a rainfall which varies from 600 to 18 inches in the year—in all this gigantic continent we are assured by the Viceroy of India it is impossible to find water enough for more than 20 million acres of land! Such a phenomenon should, indeed, be communicated to the Royal Society at home, and all the scientific societies of the world. In the meantime, we propose to discuss the subject with such data as we possess, particularly as it has been declared that because, excepting the largest rivers of India, the other rivers are not fed from snow-clad mountains, and cannot be relied on for hydraulic works, such as reservoirs—a most extraordinary idea to put forth, as these rivers of India are, in general, supplied with water exactly in the same manner as the Nile is supplied, by the *regular* periodical rains of the tropics, which *always* prevail, with more or less intensity, from June to November; and to make the distribution as equable as possible, and at

the same time to provide an abundant water-supply for the dry months of the year, reservoirs, at a cost of two millions sterling, have already been constructed on the Nile. And we are actually assured that under exactly similar physical conditions similar works cannot be constructed in India!!!

Omitting the very largest rivers of India, such as the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra, and the other rivers above the Vindhya range—as the land tenure in the north is more or less zemindary, and irrigation is almost impossible under such a land system, in which the life-blood of the common or working classes are considered to be less than nothing in comparison with securing revenue for the landlords—let us endeavour to see what can be done with the large rivers of South India, the Godavari, the Kistna, and the Cauvery, which carry off the rainfall of the Western Ghats, running all the way along the coast from Bombay to Cape Comorin. The rainfall on these hills varies from 264 inches at Mahabaleshwar to 150 inches in Coorg and 80 inches in Travancore. The average fall on the west coast is above 100 inches in the year during the monsoon seasons, from June to October. These rivers also receive a considerable quantity of water from the north-east monsoon. As regards the largest of these rivers, the Godavari, we have some very good and reliable data to go upon. Sir A. Binnie found it was quite possible to impound 1,850,000 cubic yards of water per square mile of drainage area from so small a catchment as 6·6 square miles in the vicinity of Nagpoor, where the average monsoon rainfall was only 37 inches. This station is about the centre of the Godavari basin, far away from the hill ranges, on which the rainfall is considerably more. Yet even here, under no very favourable circumstances, it was proved, by actual work, that water enough from each square mile of drainage area could be stored for 185 acres of land for irrigation purposes. As the whole Godavari basin contains about 120,000 square miles of country, with an average rainfall of, perhaps, more than 40 inches, there is, then,

water enough in this one basin for upwards of 20 million acres of land. This fact can be more fully established from the records of the water running to waste every year into the sea over the anikut, and which have been now maintained for more than half a century. The length of this anikut is about 12,000 feet, and, with 1 foot of water passing over it, the discharge would be 2,568,000 cubic feet per minute in the monsoon season. The head sluices draw off about 700,000 cubic feet per minute for irrigation and navigation purposes; the under or scouring sluices are kept open throughout this period, and are discharging about 1 million cubic feet per minute, and there is a considerable velocity of approach. Putting all these figures together, there would be about 5 million cubic feet of water per minute flowing down the river when there is 1 foot going over the crest. Now, from July 1 to the end of December there is seldom, if ever, less than 3 feet of water passing over this anikut. In the months of July, August, September, and October freshes occur quite regularly, varying in height from 8 to 12 feet on the crest of this dam, and lasting for a week or ten days. In seasons of extraordinary heavy rainfall the freshes rise to 16 feet above the crest of this weir. All this enormous volume of water goes waste into the sea regularly in greater or less quantities, according to the season's rainfall, just in the same manner as the *Nile floods*. In Egypt it has been fully recognised that the only possible *remedy* in such rivers is to construct reservoirs at suitable sites, to regulate as far as possible the flood discharges, extend irrigation in their basins, and maintain an abundant supply of water for the dry months of the year. In the case of the Godavari the river could be made navigable for 400 miles inland, and all its delta canals could be navigated throughout the year, whereas at present they have to be closed for want of water in the river for three or four months every year, causing immense losses to the cultivators of the land. We can form some idea of the value of this stored water by con-

sidering the fluctuations in the second crop cultivation from February to April under this anikut. The following statement gives the record for a few years :

Years.	Extent of Crop.				Decreases.	
1897-1898	...	...	163,481	...	...	—
1898-1899	...	...	120,431	...	...	43,050
1899-1900	...	...	66,109	...	...	97,372
1900-1901	...	...	136,527	...	...	26,954
Total loss			...	...	...	167,376

The value of the crops lost in these three years for want of a properly regulated water-supply by means of good reservoirs cannot be estimated at less than Rs. 15 per acre for revenue and value of produce to the ryots—in round numbers, about 25 lacs of rupees. At 4 per cent. interest it would be worth while spending 625 lacs of rupees to secure this delta alone from such losses. There is no doubt if the water were properly secured for these ryots the second crop cultivation would be greatly extended, and the sugar-cane cultivation be placed on an assured basis ; for the better the navigation is made, from all the experience we have had on these works, the greater is the extent of land taken up for all agricultural purposes, which is also quite in accordance with the principles laid down by Adam Smith and all modern authorities in civilized countries.

The delta of this river contains about one million acres of excellent land, fit for all agricultural purposes. At present two-thirds is cultivated for a first crop by irrigation, but only about one-eighth for second crop, on an average, as the natural water-supply in the river is so very fluctuating ; and if this supply were but properly regulated by good large reservoirs constructed on the tributaries of this great river, there is no reason why half a million acres of land should not be cultivated for second crop and sugar-cane. The delta is well supplied with good navigable canals, and intersected with cross-roads. The drainage has been attended to, and the river embanked to prevent its heavy floods damaging the crops in the monsoon season. Im-

provements yet require to be made to complete the project as originally designed, such as the reclaiming of the Kolar Lake, and the providing a proper outlet to the sea for the rivers which now flow into that basin. Along the base of the delta a canal is required to connect Nursapur with Cocanada, the only safe and accessible port between Calcutta and Cape Comorin along the whole Coromandel coast. This canal is easy of execution at a little cost, and would afford great facilities of transport, as it would save all laden boats from going up-stream, round the head of the delta to get to Cocanada, and avoid the dangerous river navigation above the anikut in the flood seasons. By these means this delta would be able to yield all the capital necessary to improve the navigation of the main river up to Chanda, and for constructing the reservoirs in its upper basin, so urgently required to prevent the famines in the Central Provinces, and to open them up to the most extensive markets by the cheapest means of transport. These Central Provinces, which form the basin of the Godavari River, and are abundantly supplied with water by natural rainfall, which is all carried off to waste over this anikut into the sea, as we have shown above, are in the most deplorably backward condition of any part of India. There are few, if any, good main roads, the rivers are not bridged to any extent, and the cross-roads—works which make little or no show, yet are of “the most extreme utility” in facilitating production from the land—*do not exist at all*; in fact, the country is almost closed to all wheeled traffic from June to November in every year, during the periodical rainy seasons. Even the common country carts are of the poorest construction, the wheels being only about 40 inches in diameter; and a Madras cart, with its 60-inch wheels, is looked upon as a curiosity. The cost of transport by such means must be excessive, and a most grievous tax on the whole agricultural population. The country is so open in most parts that it should not be difficult to make canals for navigation purposes, and connect these

with the river navigation, and so afford these provinces an outlet to the sea at Cocanada, thus supplying them with the cheapest means of transport to the most extensive markets. But the works for completing the river navigation have been stopped for years. The projects for constructing large reservoirs on the Pench and Kunham Rivers have been set aside for more than thirty years, and, in fact, nothing whatever appears to have been done to afford the land any of those means it absolutely requires to make its cultivation at all successful or profitable. The land tenure was so made in former years that the cultivators were at the mercy of the landlords, who used to mortgage their rights to the Sowcars at usurious rates of interest, leaving these people to recover principal and interest from the cultivators, who were also liable for all costs in the law-courts—as unhappy a condition of slavery and bondage as can well be imagined. Under such circumstances, is it any wonder these provinces, which possess very fertile soils, are in the most desolate condition possible? The population is very sparse and in the most abject poverty, and subject to the heaviest losses possible by famine, though Nature has provided abundant means for making these territories the most flourishing in all India. How much such territories suffer for want of the easiest, freest, and cheapest means of transport can be shown by considering the way in which so common and necessary an article of life as salt is brought into the Central Provinces. This is brought from Bombay by rail to Nâgpur, a distance of 520 miles. The cost of carriage for cheap commodities by rail is said to be two-pence per ton a mile in England. Considering the difference in value of money in these two countries—this cost is not less than threepence a ton a mile, probably more, in India—it costs them there £6 10s. to convey a ton of salt from Bombay to Nâgpur, and to this must be added all the expenses of distributing it by the crude means of transport which these provinces possess at present, without any cross-roads. If the river was made navigable for 400

miles to Chanda, salt from Cocanada could be easily delivered there for 16s. 8d., at a halfpenny a ton a mile, so that this great necessary of life could be supplied to the people of those provinces for 80 per cent. less in cost of transport. If this were further reduced by good cross-roads, there is no doubt a saving of at least 200 per cent. in the cost of conveying products could be effected. These and similar measures are never considered in any of the systems of collecting land or other revenue so long and even now prevailing in this unhappy country ; hence it is the whole country rings with complaints against the Government for its assessments and taxation, whereas these burdens are as nothing compared with the frightful cost of transport. In England and America everything is being done to reduce this cost as much as possible by canals, railways, and roads, and no expense is spared to effect this in the best manner possible. Yet in India so all-important a subject, affecting the interests and welfare of all classes, without reference to creed, caste, or colour, finds *no place* whatever in any of the Cutcherry systems we maintain ; and so the life-blood of the working classes is drained away, and their poverty and misery increase every year of their lives.

The Godavari River discharges its immense volume of water into the sea by two main channels, at Cocanada and Nursapur ; but from the latter a smaller branch goes off from the head of the Nagaram island, resembling very much the Sulina branch of the Danube. At the mouth of the main channels large sand and mud banks, islands, etc., have been formed, but no such formations appear to have formed at the mouth of this intermediate branch, and it would be well worth while to examine further into this matter, for it might be found practicable here to deepen the water on its bar, as has been successfully done for the Sulina branch of the Danube, and so form that " indispensable requisite " an inner harbour on this coast, which, in a distance of over 1,000 miles, possesses nothing of the kind between Calcutta

and Cape Comorin. The tides on this coast rise only to between 4 and 5 feet, it is true, but it would be very easy to supply this small branch of the river with plenty of water by constructing a low dam of 4 or 5 feet in height from the head of Nagaram island to the right bank of the Godavari River. Such a work should be constructed so as not to offer any great obstruction to the heavy floods of the main river, which carry large quantities of silt, but be made high enough to keep a sufficient supply of water flowing in this smaller branch to maintain a good depth of water on its bar. The length of this small branch is about twelve miles, and its average breadth half a mile ; and if it can be improved as now suggested, a harbour of some three or four thousand acres in extent might be formed. If two groins were run out from either bank of this channel, not parallel to each other, but so as to form a funnel-shaped mouth, to allow the tide to flow freely up the river, and terminated just beyond the water-line of the surf, to break the rollers before they curl over, steamers could make the harbour easily in daytime or at night, if lights were placed at the ends of the groins. There is, of course, the danger of the hurricanes to be considered, which are of extreme violence on this coast at times ; but these might be met by floating rafts or booms placed across the inner entrance of the harbour, and well anchored in-shore. The proposal is only offered for consideration at present, as the want of a harbour on this coast is so very urgent, and this is, apparently, the only good opening for the purpose on the whole line of coast hereabouts.

It will be seen from all that has been above stated, and if the records of the quantities of water flowing over the Godavari anikut every year without fail into the sea are thoroughly examined, there is an abundance of water for all purposes in these Central Provinces—for domestic purposes, for irrigation and navigation, for water-power, etc.—if only properly stored in large reservoirs and distributed. There is an abundance of good fertile soil for all agricultural

purposes, and it is quite possible to make the main river navigable for some 400 miles inland, thus affording these provinces the cheapest means of transport for all surplus produce to a safe port, and to distribute to all the markets of the world. How cheaply goods can be carried by water Mr. Hawkshaw shows in his address, when he says "a ton of goods can be carried from Hamburg to Berlin, 174 miles, for 4s., and for the same amount from Buffalo to New York, a distance of 500 miles, since the opening of the Erie Canal. One of our South-country railways would charge 7s. 4d. for carrying a ton of so cheap a commodity as firewood forty-seven miles." From the above it appears the cost of carriage by water varies from 0'38 to 1 farthing a ton a mile, and by railway, for a very cheap commodity, the cost is now 1'8d. a ton a mile. It is no exaggeration to say that heavy goods traffic could be conveyed in India by the common labour of the country for a halfpenny a ton a mile, and most probably for much less.

There are in these Central Provinces in the basin of the Godavari River about 70 million acres of land; if 30 millions are waste, and 15 millions were provided with water for irrigation, and 25 millions supplied with water for all domestic and other purposes, and the country thoroughly opened out by canals and main and cross-roads, 40 millions of acres could be well cultivated, yielding an average revenue of at least 2 rupees per acre when the land had been thoroughly relieved of the immense burden on it by the heavy cost of transport for all goods traffic now prevailing. The revenue so obtained would be 800 lacs of rupees a year, without being any burden on the people at all; instead of being a tax or assessment on the land, it would in all probability be a net produce or rent-free charge, which the people would gladly pay for the land as an instrument of production so profitable to themselves, and relieving them of all anxiety about famines, and the Government at the time granting them *some security of tenure*.

The Kistna is, next to the Godavari, the largest river in South India, having a catchment basin of about 80,000 square miles, and being supplied with water in the same way as the Nile or the Godavari. The freshes of this river, however, run off with much greater rapidity than those of the latter river; hence it is that the water-supply in it runs very short soon after the periodical rains cease, and the canals in its delta are not navigable after the month of February; there is, therefore, the more urgent need for large storage reservoirs on its tributaries. There is an ample and superabundant supply of water in this river during the monsoon seasons of every year, as the records will prove if only properly examined. Heavy floods rise  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet above the crest of the anikut at Bejwâda, and rush off to the sea at a very high velocity. The floods of this river carry down an enormous quantity of silt, said to be more than 30 per cent. greater than in the Ganges or Godavari rivers. This anikut is about 4,000 feet in length and 20 feet high, a work of very difficult construction in such a river, and most creditable to the engineer who superintended it, the late Lieutenant-General C. A. Orr., R.E., who was especially selected for the duty by Sir Arthur Cotton, R.E. This dam was originally designed to supply water for the irrigation of 400,000 acres of land, but it has been found quite practicable to irrigate nearly 600,000 acres up to date, and as soon as this river is furnished with reservoirs like those on the Nile, there is no doubt whatever 1 million acres of land will be irrigated by this one work for first and second crop.

Some fifty years ago a site was found for an admirable reservoir on the Tungabhadra River, a main tributary of the Kistna; but after Sir A. Cotton left India, under the wretched management of all hydraulic works in Madras which followed, this most important work was entirely neglected by the officers concerned. It is understood the Irrigation Commission have recommended its prosecution, as it is calculated to irrigate about 3 million acres of land

in the Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddapah, and Nellore districts, which have all suffered so fearfully from famines in all ages, and to establish an inland navigation from near Bellary to the coast. If this project is taken up in real earnest it will secure this part of the country from famines for ever, and be some little compensation to the people for the horrible neglect with which they have been heretofore treated.

In this valley the most important part for irrigation is the Raichore Doab, or the land lying between the Kistna and Tungabadra rivers. Several attempts have been made from time to time to irrigate this land from the latter river, but all have failed, and are likely to fail. An examination of the map will show that by far the greater portion of this Doab, from above Mudgal to the junction of these rivers below Kurnool, drains *down* into the Tungabadra, and cannot therefore be well irrigated from it. But it can all be commanded from the Kistna, which is far better supplied with water than the Toongabadra. There is a very remarkable fall in the Kistna River of about 400 feet in ten miles, near Jaldurg. Above this rapid the bed of the river will probably be found to have very little fall in it, corresponding in this way to the bed of the Tungabadra parallel to it, which has a fall of only 42 feet in seventy miles. In this part of the Kistna there is very little or no doubt a site can be found for a large reservoir, which would irrigate almost the whole Doab from near Mudgal to the junction below Kurnool, and this canal could be connected with the Kurnool and Cuddapah Canal at its head near Sunkesala for navigation purposes to the coast. If the Doab were irrigated in this manner, which appears to be quite a feasible project, an immense area of land would be supplied with water for all purposes, perhaps 2 or 3 million acres. The project, at all events, is well worth considering and looking into, for the famines have been very bad and severe in all ages in this region. There can be no doubt about the water-supply being abundant if only properly regulated; of course, the great objection is

that this land, and almost all the land in this basin, belongs to His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, and therefore the British Government cannot interfere in the matter; but the lives of millions of people are entirely dependent on such and similar works, and the development of the irrigation in the delta of this river also depends entirely on storage reservoirs in its upper basin. There is, then, good reason for the Government of India to urge this subject on the Government of His Highness the Nizam. The real wealth of the people, the annual produce of their land and labour, can only be increased by these means, which, if properly carried out, will place the finances of the Hyderabad State on a basis of assured solvency, which is far from being the case at present, and, in fact, never has been in any former times.

The Cauvery River is the next large river in South India. It has a catchment area of about 60,000 square miles, with a rainfall, on an average, at its head in the Coorg Hills, of 150 inches in the year from the periodical tropical rains, lasting from June to November. Its delta has been well irrigated for ages, and is well known for being about the most successful in the world. The land has now a saleable value of above Rs. 1,000 per acre. The population is very dense in the delta taluqs, said to be over 750 to the square mile, and as regards their wealth, as compared with other people in India, they can be called rich in an English sense. But the waste of water in the delta is enormous, as can be gathered from the fact that 1 cubic foot of flow per second irrigates, it is said, only 22 acres, whilst in the Kistna the same quantity of water irrigates 90 acres, and in the Godavari 66 acres. This subject requires the most serious attention of the Government, as their losses, as well as those of the people inhabiting this valley, must be very heavy indeed. The records now maintained for over three-quarters of a century at the anikuts should be most carefully examined, with a view to constructing large reservoirs in this very favourable basin, for which admirable

sites exist, to economize the superabundant water-supply as much as possible, which would not only increase the irrigation all over this valley, but would secure also water enough for a second crop in the delta to a very large extent. As the people here readily take up all the water they can possibly get for agricultural purposes, any projects for irrigation are almost sure of success, if these are only provided with the cheapest means of conveying the produce of the land to the most extensive markets. If such means are not provided, all the Irrigation Commissions appointed by the Government will not, and cannot by any possibility, improve the cultivation of the land. All over the world experience has proved this to be a fact. It is only in India, with its miserable system of collecting land revenue, and neglecting this all-important subject, that no improvement has ever been made, and never will or can be made until these systems are entirely changed. The Indian systems of administering the land all over the country are exactly the same, sucking as much blood as possible out of the people by any means, even to using torture, to get as much revenue as possible for the ruler for the time being; and, as Bacon says, "the rebellions of the stomach are the worst." The people, when they could, have risen in rebellion and got rid of their rulers; but this sacred right of insurrection is impossible to them under the British Government, and as we have continued and maintained the same old Cutcherry system of collecting revenue from the land without providing it with proper means of fertilization and free access to the most extensive markets, it is no wonder the poverty and misery of the people have so increased that the burden is quite intolerable, and will remain so, and most probably become much worse. Our business is to at first remove the causes "of all this poverty and want in the estate," as Bacon says, and the progress of the country will then be assured, with the greatest possible benefit to the Government, as we shall then have secured the loyalty of the people, when they know all their

prosperity has been provided for and promoted by their rulers.

We do not want instances to prove this: no districts, *by any possibility*, have been in a worse condition than the Godavari and Kistna districts. The reports of the late Sir H. Montgomery and many other civil officers are on record to establish this fact. The Government then determined to carry out Sir A. Cotton's proposals to afford the land an abundant supply of water from their large rivers to secure the crops in all seasons, and to open out good, navigable canals throughout these deltas, and to connect them with the port of Cocanada and the markets of the world. The results have been just what anyone endowed with common-sense might have expected; these same districts are now the most flourishing in all India, and pay the Government the largest revenues, excepting only Tanjore, which had been previously well cared for by the same officer. As a contrast to these measures for securing the prosperity of the land, let us for a moment look at what the Government propose to do in Bundelkhund, where very great distress is *now* prevailing. The orders on this subject have been published to the world, and appear in the local papers of India, and we take the account of them from the *Madras Mail* of January 24, 1903, as briefly as possible. It appears these land-holders have become heavily involved *in debt, owing chiefly to their own reckless extravagance and borrowings*, consequent on the grant to them of proprietary rights some forty years ago. The situation is so serious that the Imperial Government have been obliged to take drastic measures for relieving the distress. The indebtedness of the cultivators has naturally been intensified by the last famine, and is said to amount to over a crore of rupees (about £700,000) in the four districts. What else was to be expected when the Government allow the land and its cultivation to be made over to a set of landlords whose reckless folly, contempt for their ryots, and gross misconduct towards them, have been a by-word in all

ages all over India? The measures of relief are to summarily revise the assessments and reduce the *annual* demand by Rs. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  lacs. Another measure provides "a simple and almost automatic method of adjusting the revenue at intervals of five years, or oftener if necessary, on the basis of the area actually cultivated." Provision is also made for relief to be given for failure of crops, or injury to the same, by remission of revenue, instead of suspending revenue, according to the practice of Cutcherry Brahmins (a very great boon, by which the cultivators will be greatly benefited). Two legislative measures of relief are also provided—one for relieving estates that are indebted, the other for restricting the alienation of estates; and the courts are empowered to decide in such matters. Unless the landlord is hopelessly involved, the Government will come forward to assist him with a loan at moderate rates of interest. In the last event, if the land must be sold, the landlord will become a tenant of the Government; and all this is declared to be a magnificent scheme of State philanthropy by a most benevolent Government, which many an indebted ryot in other parts of India will regard with envy. No reasons are given why such "magnificent schemes" are not made applicable to the whole of India. These are not novelties; similar experiments have been tried in all ages in India, *after* the ryots have had their skins flayed off them by the usual practice of Cutcherry Brahmins, in the hope that total loss and ruin might be avoided, and the result, in thousands of instances, has always been the same—the land and labour have continued to remain just as unproductive as ever, for the simple reason that such measures cannot, by any possibility, afford the land and labour those means which they *absolutely require* to make the produce remunerative at all. This is well understood in all civilized countries, but in India any attempts to provide the land and labour with these necessary means have always been resented by the revenue authorities as an impertinent interference with

their peculiar rights and notions for collecting land revenue. And they are really responsible for all the poverty and misery which their own doings have brought about in India.

It has been abundantly shown above, from the highest authorities, that in order to enable the land to yield the most abundant produce, and to realize the greatest profits from this, both for landlord and tenant, it is absolutely necessary to provide—(1) a good and abundant water-supply, so that man and beast can be maintained in good working condition. In India this agent is, moreover, required to fertilize the soil, and to secure the crops, as much as possible, from being totally lost by any failure of the local rains; for not a blade of grass can grow in this country without some water. (2) Canals, railways, main and cross roads, are required in all countries, so that the produce of the land can be conveyed to the most extensive markets at the right time and in the cheapest manner possible. Without these adjuncts no agriculture can be carried on profitably, and it will be observed that these find no place in the measures adopted for the relief of the Bundelkhund landlords and tenants. Very much is said about the benevolent intentions of the Government, and their earnest desire to benefit the people as well as they can; but such measures are not calculated to attain the results wished for, and never yet have succeeded in doing so by any of the numerous systems of collecting land revenue practised in all ages in such countries as India. As J. S. Mill says, "The production from land is the most important, and at the same time the most difficult, of all propositions to be dealt with by the political economist." Mr. Lecky goes so far as to declare that the State or Government can never administer the land so successfully as a private landlord; but Adam Smith shows very clearly that in countries like India or China a very great deal can be done to promote the real wealth of the people and the revenue of the Sovereign if certain principles are properly

attended to and carried out, and his ideas have been fully confirmed by the success of the delta works in Madras, on which Sir A. Cotton from the very first insisted that the freest, easiest, and cheapest means of transport should be established, on the very same grounds that Adam Smith advocated, at the same time that the land was afforded the best means for fertilizing it with an abundant water-supply—the very means which are not even mentioned in “the magnificent scheme” sanctioned for Bundelkhund.

It appears that in this single tract of country the losses incurred one way and another, and the reductions made in the assessments by the Government, amount to something like £750,000, which would mean a loss in England of some five millions sterling. Considering the difference in value of money in the two countries, surely it would be advisable to borrow the capital and carry out the necessary works for the land, and so insure the people from such losses as much as possible.

Every sort and kind of measure has been tried in all parts of India to improve the cultivation of the land by revision of assessments at longer or shorter periods, by reduction of assessments, and other devices; and the result in all cases has been dead failure, whilst the people, it is now admitted on all hands, are sunk in the deepest and most abject poverty. Surely the time has come when we should advise with the best and most experienced authorities of Western civilization, and afford the land the proper means to make its cultivation profitable to all classes of the community, and do away with such caste systems as have proved themselves to be hopelessly useless in all times, and adopt the simple and obvious system of land administration which has proved to be most successful in all advancing countries.

When Mr. Hawkshaw says in his address, “There is not so much more the engineer can do for India *for irrigation*, but much remains to be done with water for power for industrial purposes for the struggling millions who now till

that *thirsty* land, and require to be *trained* to industrial pursuits, as they should be," he hits the nail on the head in the right way in one respect, but he makes a sad mistake as regards irrigation. In that thirsty land, as he truly calls it, the struggling millions have had little or nothing yet done for them in the way of irrigation. So far as North India is concerned, the tenures of land prevent anything like successful irrigation being established, and their enormous deltas, even, cannot be so improved in consequence. In South India we have shown that abundance of water now runs to waste in its great rivers, abundantly sufficient for millions of acres of land if only provided with large reservoirs—the only remedy possible, as he himself allows, for such rivers, which receive their supplies of water by periodical tropical rains, as the Nile does, where reservoirs have been at once constructed; and though recommended for India more than fifty years ago, nothing whatever has yet been done to carry out such most necessary works, by which alone the poverty and want of the estate "can be remedied, the rebellions of the belly removed, and the people *trained* to all industrial pursuits."

Besides the large rivers of South India, which we have described above, there are scores of minor rivers in all the districts, which convey immense volumes of water waste into the sea, and have never yet had any proper works constructed on them; these can be noted in any of the ordnance maps of the east coast. The frequent breaches of the railways running along this coast show very clearly how abundantly it is supplied with water.

The Pennar, which is one of the largest of these rivers, has a catchment area of 27,000 square miles, nearly half the size of England and Wales. The floods in it are very violent, and run off with the greatest rapidity. There are some half a dozen good sites for reservoirs on this one river, which, besides being locally most useful works, would afford a good supply of water for the Nellore district for irrigation purposes.

In the Vizagapatam, Godavari, and Kistna, as well as in the Nellore districts, there are several very considerable streams, by which the drainage of the Eastern Ghats runs off waste into the sea. All these rivers require reservoirs to be constructed on them, both for irrigation and for water-power purposes. Generally speaking, they are well supplied with water by the north-east monsoon, but their floods run off in a few days, or weeks at the best, and for the rest of the year their beds are dry. Such defects can *only be remedied* by good reservoirs.

In the North Arcot district there are some very large streams, which carry off the rainfall of the Palmaner and other hills. These streams convey immense volumes of water in the season waste to the sea ; anyone who has seen these rivers filled by the rains of a hurricane or heavy rains on the Madras coast can testify to the enormous volumes of water such rivers discharge into the sea.

There are many capital sites for reservoirs in all these rivers, and any extent of land which could be irrigated by them. This district is, besides, intersected by railways running north and south and east and west, and only requires to be well provided with good main and cross roads, when all surplus produce from all well-irrigated lands could be easily disposed of in the most extensive markets of South India or of the world. In other districts of this Presidency there are several large schemes which require to be examined for storage purposes. In the Mysore territories and in the Coimbatore district there are the large tributaries of the Cauvery River, on which reservoirs can be constructed with the greatest advantage, not only for local purposes, but also for supplying the Tanjore delta for a second crop.

In the Madura district a very important project has lately been carried out by the Government, at a cost of over 100 lacs of rupees ; this is the Periyar project, by which the abundant supplies of water of the west coast have been diverted into the Vaigai River, which drains to the

east coast, and was originally very insufficiently supplied with water. The dam constructed on the Periyar River is, perhaps, the highest in the world, over 75 feet in height, but owing to the steepness of the valley and its narrowness, the quantity of water impounded is very small in comparison with the rainfall, which is said to be over 100 inches in the year. The tunnel through the hills into the Vaigai conveys about 1,300 cubic feet of water per second at present ; it should be enlarged to convey 5,000 cubic feet per second, if possible, and storage reservoirs should be constructed in the Vaigai basin, whence it can be distributed over a large part of the Madura district, where there is an immense extent of good land for all irrigation purposes. The ryots of this district are very industrious, and will use every drop of water they can get. If an abundance of water were stored, as proposed, it might be possible to construct a navigable canal from near the town of Madura to the port of Keelikeeri—a very important work, and well worth considering. In this district there is also a very important jungle stream, near Batlagoonda—receiving very abundant supplies of water from the rainfall on the Pullney Hills, averaging over 80 inches in the year. There is an excellent site for a reservoir on this stream near Batlagoonda. There is also a waterfall on this stream which cannot be much less than 1,000 feet, sheer fall. There is always a good flow of water over this fall, and it might be usefully employed for water-power.

In the Tinnevely district there is an important river. The irrigation from it is said to be the most profitable in South India, yielding a water-rate of Rs. 7 per acre ; but its floods run off waste into the sea, as there are no reservoirs in its basin to impound and regulate such discharges from all these sources.

After an experience of over fifty years in hydraulic works in India, we have no doubt some 30 million acres of land can be well irrigated in South India by means of storage reservoirs, and for this purpose we have shown that there

is an abundance of water in the three large rivers ; in their basins some 25 million acres of land can be irrigated, and all their deltas well supplied with water for second crop and sugar-cane cultivation, and their navigable canals could be kept open throughout the year in great part. It should not be a difficult matter to irrigate 5 million acres of land from the minor rivers and streams in this Presidency. The rainfall in ordinary years is amply sufficient for such purposes, but the only possible way of utilizing this to the greatest advantage is to provide them all with good storage reservoirs. This has never yet been attempted in India on any proper scale, but after the success of the Nile reservoirs there can be no doubt now that such projects are quite feasible, and, if carried out, will confer the most lasting benefits on the whole community.

As regards cost of construction, on an average, this might be £2 per acre, or 60 millions sterling, taking the rupee at 1s. 4d. or 15 to the £ sterling ; a water-rate of Rs. 5 per acre, which is about one-fifth the value of the produce, ought to be realized without it being any great burden on the people, when they had been relieved of all fears of famine, and the loss of all their live-stock by such visitations, to say nothing of the loss of all their capital and labour for one or two years. If the improvements cost Rs. 30 per acre, and the water-rate is Rs. 5 per acre, the return would be  $16\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. ; if the money were raised at 4 per cent., there would be an ample margin to meet unforeseen contingencies. It will, of course, be necessary to provide for the construction of good main and cross roads, otherwise the land can never be properly cultivated : this might bring up the cost to Rs. 40 per acre ; even then the return would be  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Instead of there being only 3 million acres of land in all India to which irrigation could be applied, as Lord Curzon was deluded into believing, we have shown that in South India above ten times that extent of land can be easily irrigated from the ordinary rainfall of the country if only properly dealt with,

and that this can be done there can be no doubt after the success of the works on the Nile River, which receives its water in exactly the same way as those rivers of South India, from the regular periodical tropical rains; these, of course, vary in intensity of fall in each year, but the *only possible remedy* is to make all reservoirs as *large as possible*, to adopt very stringent measures to prevent all waste, which is so common in India, and to keep 20 or 25 per cent. of the water in each reservoir, stored for the use of man and beast in the dry months. This is a most important matter, for in these hot months heavy thunderstorms occur, which would all be saved when the drainage from these ran into reservoirs where there was still a good deal of water, whereas now these are entirely lost in the dry beds of the tanks by absorption and evaporation.

It is proposed by some to develop the mineral resources of India by mining operations, which is at best a partial remedy, especially in a country where food is so scarce, always dependent on the rainfall, which, again, in the tropics varies enormously from year to year, and no steps have yet been taken to provide against such fluctuations by large storage reservoirs, and the country is quite unprovided with good means of communication. Mining is not likely, in such a condition of society, to promote the real wealth of the people by enhancing the produce of its land and labour, for, as Adam Smith justly points out (Book I., chap. xi., p. 184):

“The most abundant mines either of the precious metals or of the precious stones could add *little to the wealth of the world*—a produce of which the value is principally derived from its scarcity is necessarily degraded by its abundance; a service of plate, and the other frivolous ornaments of dress and furniture, could be purchased for a smaller quantity of labour, or for a smaller quantity of commodities, and in this would consist *the sole advantage* which the world would derive from that abundance. It is otherwise in estates above ground. The value of both of

their produce and of their rent is in proportion to their *absolute*, and not to their *relative*, fertility. . . . The value of the most barren lands is not diminished by the neighbourhood of the most fertile ; on the contrary, it is generally increased by it. The great number of people maintained by the fertile lands afford a market to many parts of the produce of the barren, which they could never have found among those whom their own produce could maintain.

“Whatever increases the fertility of land in producing food, increases not only the value of the lands upon which the improvement is bestowed, but contributes likewise to increase that of many other lands by *creating a new demand* for their produce. That abundance of food, of which, in consequence of the improvement of land, many people have the disposal beyond what they themselves can consume, is the great cause of the demand both for the precious metals and the precious stones, as well as for many other conveniences and ornaments of dress, lodging, household furniture, and equipage. *Food not only constitutes the principal part of the riches of the world, but it is the abundance of food which gives the principal part of the value to many other sorts of riches.*”

As India is totally deficient in abundance of food for its struggling millions who are in a condition of the most abject poverty and ignorance, opening of gold, silver, or other mines can never raise this population out of their deep distress and dejection. Every sort and kind of experiment has been tried in India for centuries to improve this condition of society, and the results have been uniformly the same, utter dead failures. Is it not, then, time to adopt the simple and obvious system by affording the land and labour those means which they absolutely require to make agriculture—the great industry of the country—as successful as possible? On a small scale these means have been supplied in the Delta districts of Madras, and the success which has uniformly attended such operations is a certain guarantee that similar results

will be obtained in all parts of the country if only the same principles are strictly adhered to. We have already shown that so far as South India is concerned there is an abundant water-supply from its natural rainfall, if only properly conserved and distributed with something like care and economy ; but it will be of little or no avail to store the water only if the other great want of the country is not most carefully attended to at the same time, by which its produce can be conveyed at all times to the most extensive markets by the freest, easiest, and cheapest means of transport. Railways may be more flexible than canals in a small country like England, but it does not follow that they should be so in the great broad plains of India, where canals, if properly constructed, answer the double purpose of fertilizing the soil by irrigation and of conveying the produce of the land at the cheapest possible rates, and so securing the most remunerative prices for the industry bestowed on the land. In the matter of communications, so far as farming operations are concerned, it is also absolutely necessary to provide the land for agricultural purposes with the best main and cross roads thoroughly bridged, so as to be of the most extreme utility at all times and seasons ; without these adjuncts neither railways nor canals can possibly be of the greatest benefit to the country, and this has been established by long experience all over the world.

The land revenue of India is described popularly as an assessment, as a tribute, as a tax, and as rent in the various systems of collecting land revenue prevailing for centuries in this country, and in the most barbarous jargon in use in the several dialects of India ; but the confusion arising from such a state of public affairs not being considered quite sufficient, different weights and measures have been adopted in different parts, and to make confusion more confounded than ever, we have introduced English terms amongst a people who can neither read nor write their own native languages ! It is no wonder, then, that in such a

society rent is confounded with taxation generally. *Rent*, in any proper sense of the term, is a *surplus* remaining *after* all the expenses of production from the land and its distribution or disposal in the best markets have been recovered. As Adam Smith points out, that will depend upon prices. If the prices are high or low this surplus may be a great deal more, or very little more, or no more, than what is sufficient to pay all the wages and profit; and the land will afford a high rent, or a low rent, *or no rent at all*. But as a Professor Rogers, in a note on this chapter, adds: "If the laws of any country so *favour the landowner* as to enable him to *exact* a higher rent than he could obtain in the absence of any such favour, the laws are bad, oppressive, and indefensible"; and that is just what all the laws for collecting land revenue in India have done in all ages, and which we have adopted and continued in principle up to date. Hence all the poverty and indebtedness amongst the ryots have arisen entirely from this *sole cause*: their interest and welfare have been entirely ignored and neglected under pretence of making revenue for the landlord—in other words, we have been killing the goose which would have laid the golden eggs for ever if only properly fed and nourished. If you examine all the systems of collecting land revenue in India, you will not find a word in them about providing the land and labour with better means of cultivation, and with affording the cultivators "the best, the freest, and the cheapest" means of transport to the most extensive markets, to enable them to secure the best prices for their produce by the competition of buyers, by which alone they could afford to pay a fair rent without its being any tax on them; but every device has been put into practice to *compel* the cultivators to pay something to the Government, or the landlords, and so leaving them in an impoverished condition from age to age. Of course it will be said, You are writing against the Government. This charge we repudiate entirely, and declare it is in the interest of the Government—to point out

the mistakes we have made in these land revenue systems, and to rectify them on right principles as soon as possible, and so prevent worse consequences—that these lines are penned. In the accounts we have given about the state of affairs now prevailing in Bundelkhund, and the measures about to be taken to improve these, we have shown, on the highest authorities, that no permanent improvement can possibly be effected by any of these measures. These are the usual ones so often tried in India, and which have always failed; they may afford temporary relief, but they do not go to the root of the matter. They are not calculated to afford the land and labour those means which are absolutely required to make the production from the land profitable in any sense of the word, and as soon as the extravagance of the landowners and their exactions have reduced the cultivating classes to the lowest possible depths of poverty, and the judgment of famine comes on the land for their sins, the destitution and misery will recur.

We have good experience to guide us in all such matters, and can no longer plead ignorance in them. The laws which regulate the production from land are plain and simple, and when these have been properly attended to, the success which has followed in *all occasions* shows very clearly that the principles on which these laws are founded are right; we have already instanced this in the case of the Godavari and Kistna districts. Nothing could possibly have been worse than their condition fifty years ago, under the native systems of collecting land revenue, and though we have had to contend very seriously against their evil ways, and have not yet succeeded in eradicating them, yet these districts, by having proper means given to them for the cultivation of the land, are far and away the most prosperous and progressing in all India. As rent is a net produce which remains *after* completely compensating the whole risk and trouble of employing the stock on the land, and this net produce or free rent is reproduced *annually* by

the farmers and country labourers who employ and maintain the stock necessary for the purpose, it can be easily seen that in none of the systems for collecting land revenue in India has any provision ever been made to maintain the stock in proper working order. The assessment has been made on an *average* for so many years, and never according to the *annual* produce from the land. If in bad seasons this average rate cannot be paid, the balance is retained as arrears of land revenue, and exacted from the cultivation as soon as the seasons are more favourable ; and during all this time the ryot has to maintain himself, his family, and his stock in the best way he can, and becomes hopelessly involved in debt to the village sowcars. Under such circumstances it is worse than useless, by the most liberal remissions, to expect there can be any improvement permanently in his condition, or that he will or can take any steps to improve his lot. Government advances, agricultural banks, etc., are not likely to improve permanently such a state of affairs : they are at best but palliatives for the time being. The only possible remedy is to change our whole system. Let the cultivator have the land on a fixed tenure by paying a proportion of the *annual* yield to the Government or the landlord—say one-fifth, according to Joseph's law in Egypt. That would be, if the yield is 100, the ryot paid 20 ; but if the yield is only 60, the demand on him would be 12 only, and nothing should be held against him as arrears of land revenue. He would then have an interest in working to make the land yield *annually* as much as possible, to secure as much profit as possible for himself, whereas by the present systems his *self-interest* urges him to cheat the Government as much as possible, and the Government have to maintain an army of revenue officials to prevent this cheating if possible. This system works as badly as it possibly can. It is nobody's *interest* to secure the production from the land in the most efficient manner. The ryot knows he can make nothing for himself by any improvement, for he has no idea how much

will be demanded of him under pretence of making revenue for the Government. The official has no interest in the matter beyond securing his promotion by exacting all he possibly can out of the cultivator, so the great instrument of production, the land, is left utterly uncared for, as it has been for centuries, and the people in the most abject state of poverty, sloth, and ignorance.

It is quite possible for the British Government to remedy this condition of affairs in India ; their position here is now as secure as it well can be in this world. There are many millions of labourers who are quite ready to work, and it is only necessary to direct them in the right way, and the land would soon be relieved of these intolerable burdens which have kept it waste for all ages. What useful purpose has it ever answered for a Board of Revenue to complain that in bad seasons the crops in all areas not protected by irrigation are withering and a whole year's labour will be lost, and the live-stock are perishing, when they will not lift a finger to secure a good water-supply for the country, although well aware of the abundant rainfall of the tropics, and the manner in which it has been allowed to run to waste in all seasons? In all their systems of collecting land revenue, not a word has ever been said about the cost of carriage in India being quite ruinous to the ryot, though this can be ascertained in the simplest manner possible. It takes three bandies, three pairs of bullocks, and three drivers to convey one ton of produce on the miserable main and cross roads of this country. If these roads were made at all decent, one-third of all this cost would be saved at once, to say nothing of the saving of time and the making it certain that the produce would arrive *at the right time* for the markets. By this measure alone the salt from the coast could be conveyed inland at far less cost ; its consumption would be increased, and the tax on this necessary of life would be no great burden as the prosperity of the people increased. At present the cost of conveying a ton of produce by these bandies varies from 4 annas to 6 annas a

ton a mile! It is argued in some quarters that the railways in India have fostered trade and agriculture, and then in the same breath it is said that railways do not pay in this country! and at the same time people at home are impudently assured that they have conferred "incalculable benefits" on India by men who never bring forward one jot or tittle of evidence in support of their assertions. Nothing is more certain than that these railways have not added a farthing to the value of real estate in India, that they have established no new industries, and the cost of goods traffic on them is quite prohibitive. So in what manner they have fostered trade and agriculture it is impossible to imagine, when every railway engineer complains there are no feeders to their lines! The whole thing is a cruel farce from beginning to end, as can be easily realized from the fact that during their construction in the past fifty years the rates for lending money in the Bazaar have increased from 24 to 48 per cent. at the present moment, and all the banks in India are now increasing their rates. If anything like commercial prosperity had been secured for India on a sound economical basis, such a state of affairs could not possibly have arisen.

These works have cost the country, one way or another, 300 millions sterling, and so far as the chief industry of India is concerned—agriculture—they have done more to ruin it than anything else could possibly do; for it is on their account the Secretary of State for India has deliberately deprived the land of a good and sufficient water-supply, and of all those works of extreme utility which the land absolutely requires to make its cultivation profitable at all. The losses of life of man and beast during all these famines rest entirely on him, and the policy he has so long persisted in following. There is absolutely no excuse for him in this matter, as the India Office only lately, through Sir W. Lee-Warner, declared that irrigation was the mainstay of Indian finance, the one thing Lord George Hamilton has always derided and abused Sir A. Cotton shamefully for advocating. It rests now for the people of

England to decide whether all the misery, ruin, and desolation inflicted on India by his policy shall be continued, or the real wealth of the people enhanced by those means which its chief industry, agriculture, absolutely requires. The question is a most momentous one, for the lives and welfare of millions of human beings and beasts are entirely dependent on a right answer being given to it ; and if the electors at home again allow it to be evaded by dull, flippant sneers in Parliament, the blood of all these millions will be required at their hands. Already an attempt is being made to shelve this all-important subject by an Irrigation Commission, which have been wandering about this country, at the public expense, trying to *learn* something about irrigation and a water-supply for India. Two whole years have been already wasted, and it is quite apparent from their proceedings that they understand little or nothing about the subject and its real importance to agriculture. If about a quarter of the money spent on the railways were sanctioned for hydraulic works in South India, some 30 million acres of land could be irrigated from large reservoirs on its great and minor rivers, the navigation of the Godavari could be completed, and it could be ascertained if a good harbour cannot be made at the Benda-mûrlanka mouth of this river, as this appears to be the only good inlet from the sea along this whole coast. At the same time, by the help of some of these funds, and the local funds of the several districts, the country could be supplied with good common main and cross roads, its most crying want at present. Such works will not make any great show for the gratification of vulgar vanity and idle display, but there is not the shadow of a doubt they will afford the poor people of this part of India all the means they require to carry on their industries most successfully, when they know it is to *their interest* to do so.

Unfortunately, however, we have yielded too much to the sentiments of native customs and society. We might just as reasonably have argued that England should have

continued to remain in the same condition as it was in the time of the Druids, for all the old Roman writers "declared that the people were such savages, it was hopeless to endeavour to civilize them!"

For more than a century we have adopted and followed the system of collecting land revenue according to the practice of these Cutcherry people and their ancient practices, and the result is that the country has been reduced to a state of the most abject poverty. In the delta districts of Madras, under the guidance of *one* Englishman, the opposite system has been adopted, though only partially, yet with the greatest success, and these districts are the only really prosperous ones in India. The same principles which guided Sir A. Cotton in these districts can be easily applied to all parts of the country. These are simply to provide the land and labour with those means they absolutely require to make the produce as profitable as possible to all concerned. It remains for the people of England to give a decision in this matter. By the latter we can, without doubt, secure peace, prosperity, and progress all over the country, with great happiness and contentment amongst all people; by the other it has been proved by the experience of centuries the people will be, as they have always been, just kept alive in poverty and misery. As to Christianity being any bar to the improvement of the people in general, those who prate such ideas only exhibit their total ignorance of its real precepts and principles, as Bacon showed quite clearly centuries ago.

## RECENT EDUCATIONAL CHANGES IN INDIA.

BY M. PROTHERO, M.A., INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS, BENGAL.

DURING the present Viceroyalty educational topics have occupied a more prominent place in public attention in India than they have ever done before. With the exception of Lord William Bentinck, and, perhaps, Lord Ripon, Lord Curzon has taken a more practical interest in education than any of his predecessors. In 1881 Sir William Hunter's Education Commission recommended the withdrawal of Government as far as possible from all direct connection with secondary schools, and the substitution of local self-governing and missionary authorities, financed by liberal grant-in-aid from Government for direct State agency. The results of this policy did not prove satisfactory, and Lord Curzon, soon after his arrival in India, announced that education was one of the subjects to which he intended to devote special attention.

It will be useful briefly to survey the condition of Indian education when Lord Curzon assumed supreme control of the administration.

One of the evils which cried most loudly for remedy was the want of professional training for all classes of teachers. It was supposed that the best way to learn to be a teacher was to teach. Teachers gradually built up for themselves at their pupils' expense a theory of their art upon a basis of blunders and failures. The importance of the psychological and physiological basis of education was not recognised, and no knowledge of the history of education or of the theories and practice of the great educational reformers was required.

From top to bottom, from the University examinations down to the examinations for the lowest grade of Government scholarships, the great fault of Indian education lay in

that it aimed at the acquisition of knowledge only, and generally mere book knowledge. All attempts to exercise the mental powers of the pupils, unless they were accompanied with a distinct utilitarian tendency in facilitating the passing of examinations, were met with apathy on the part of those for whose benefit they were intended, and were often looked at with but scant favour by the educational authorities. Success at examinations was the one supreme standard of merit, and, as a rule, only such knowledge as would pay at examinations was sought for.

It was only in the higher University examinations that any practical work in science was insisted on. Science was taught almost universally from books, and in the lower classes of schools the pupils had mostly never seen an experiment, and could much less perform one for themselves. Poverty, the want of apparatus, and the neglect of the practical side of teaching, were to blame for this state of things.

In other subjects the fault was much the same—teachers would teach nothing that was not found within the four corners of the text-book. In geography, pupils were continually found, who could rattle off the rivers of Europe or the principal towns of England, but could not mention the chief rivers, boundaries, or staple products of their own district. In English subjects, want of knowledge of the English language on the part of the pupils was the cause that the masters made use of a barbarous jargon, half English, half vernacular, and the pupils even then failed to understand much of what was said to them, and were thus driven to memorize long passages out of keys.

Almost universally throughout Indian schools it may be said that the boys understand English books fairly well, but are often completely puzzled if addressed by an Englishman in English in the ordinary course of conversation. The teaching of infants was even more in need of improvement; the Inspector of Schools conducted on the old system, was often struck with pity at the wasted energy of little children

mechanically memorizing arithmetical tables. If these children were asked a question, depending on these tables, but in the slightest degree out of the common, they would usually stare in helpless amazement and return no answer.

Often nothing was taught to the very youngest children, as the educational importance of the years of infancy was not yet an accepted fact. They were sent to school to be out of their parents' way, and were compelled to sit in enforced quiet, with their natural love of movement repressed by fear of the teacher. Infant schools were treated as if they were schools for elder children in miniature, and methods of discipline and instruction suitable enough for elder children, but quite unsuitable for infants, were followed.

No attention was paid to manual training or to the importance of making hand and eye work together. No one in India understood the principle that "the hand is the projected brain." Indeed, from the earliest ages manual labour has been considered inferior to even the lowest kinds of intellectual labour. The importance of drawing in general education was almost entirely ignored, and the training of the senses of sight and touch was equally uncared for. Before clear and distinct impressions can be formed about an object, opportunity must be given to view it clearly and distinctly and to handle it; but object-lessons and Nature study were unknown, and the children of the lower classes grew up in almost total ignorance of the objects of natural and historical interest at their doors.

The one subject that was well taught in the vernacular schools was mental arithmetic, in which the small native boy is wonderfully quick.

The "great goddess" examination has long since been set up in India, and as the passing of examinations mainly conducted in English is the universal passport to Government employment, all men have fallen down and worshipped her. The intellectual cream of the native youth have devoted themselves to study and neglected

their physical requirements, and a woeful deterioration of the physique of the English educated class has been the result. In the present day this evil has partially been combated by the greater attention to drill, physical exercises, and games, which is insisted on in the Government schools and colleges, and which has been more or less adapted from them in other institutions. Examinations exercise a baneful influence upon Indian Education in another way. The passing of examinations is to the average Indian student "the be all and the end all" of study, and he will not listen to his teacher if he travels in the least degree outside the programme required for success at the Government or University examination.

So much for primary and secondary education in India; it remains to speak of University education, on which subject a Commission appointed by the Viceroy has recently reported. The Commission has called attention to the continuous lowering of the standards, which has gone *pari passu* with the extension of University education in India. The fact that the Matriculation examination was used as a test of fitness for Government service caused the vast disproportion between the number of candidates and the number passed which Lord Curzon pointed out early in his tenure of power. The reason of this was that all that was required as a test for entrance into Government service was in many instances, not to have passed the examination, but merely to produce evidence of having sat for it.

One of the chief objects of the Matriculation examination ought to be to discover whether the candidates possess sufficient knowledge of their subjects to profit by subsequent college lectures. The lowering of the standard at the Matriculation examination is particularly pernicious in English, for one great cause of the shallowness of University education is the scanty knowledge of English possessed by the majority of pupils. Most of the college lectures are delivered in English, and are very insufficiently understood by those who hear them. This leads to the

unintelligent learning by heart of notes, and the reproduction of the contents of keys.

Another general fault is the abuse of text-books. Nothing is ever taught, and no question may be put at any examination, that is not contained in the text-book. If the teacher turns a little aside from the beaten path, however important may be the point to the thorough understanding of the subject, he seldom, if ever, can count upon the attention of his class.

The Report goes on to express an opinion that education was being made too cheap in India, and that an inadequate training had been bestowed on many students, who were unable, from their insufficient intellectual attainments, to derive any real profit from it. With reference to this declaration, a native newspaper did not scruple to say that the Government was afraid of the educated classes, and wished to "check" the unhealthy overgrowth of University education in India. The truth is, English education has become somewhat of a Frankenstein in India, and it has become a problem of the highest political importance to find means of employment for the crowd of "Hunger-kandidaten" who look to Government service for a sustenance. Such was the state of education; we will now briefly allude to the remedies employed.

In August, 1898, a small Committee of educational experts was appointed by the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to consider the state of vernacular education in Bengal. This Committee drew up a scheme in which an attempt was made to work out the application of Froebel principles with the aid of purely indigenous materials. Froebel's gifts were discarded, and exercises to train the senses and stimulate the reasoning powers, in which only the commonest materials were to be made use of, were substituted. Great importance was assigned to sense impression, and object-lessons were introduced to teach children to look at natural objects with attention and reflection. Due attention was paid to visualization by

the children being encouraged to make rough sketches of what they were studying, while the more frequent use of blackboard representation was enjoined upon the teacher. The hand and eye were to be trained in elementary drawing by building up figures from elementary lines. Place was also found in the scheme for Kindergarten occupations, stick-laying, seed-placing, action-songs, and systematical physical exercises. Schools under the new system will be much more tolerable places for very young children, and this change will in itself undoubtedly do much to popularize education. The smattering of science hitherto taught was to be brought together in a reading-book dealing with "The Science of Common Life," supplemented by the introduction of Nature-study and model gardens. In schools of a class superior to the very lowest the teaching of history and geography was improved by the pupils being required to know the history and geography of their own provinces before proceeding to wider studies. In science the use of simple apparatus, to be manufactured, as far as possible, by the teachers and pupils of the school, was insisted on. Domestic economy for girls finds a place in the new curriculum, but it is to be regretted that, in deference to native prejudices, manual training is only retained as an alternative subject.

The number of normal schools throughout the country has been increased, and even the teachers of the lowest class of vernacular schools are in future to be trained for their profession.

Primary examinations are to be abolished, and the schools are in the future to be estimated by general efficiency instead of success at examinations.

Arrangements have been made for the improvement of the knowledge of colloquial English possessed by English teachers.

These reforms have taken place in Bengal and Madras, but they are required throughout the country, and were approved by the Conference of Directors of Public In-

struction convened at Simla in September, 1901, as suitable for the whole of India.

With reference to University education, the report of the Commission recommends the raising of the fees in colleges, and the discontinuance of the affiliation of colleges which do not teach the full University course, which are usually in every way worse equipped than those teaching the full course. The standard in English at the Matriculation examination should be raised, and text-books in the subject abolished. It is also proposed that applications for the affiliation of colleges should be scrutinized with greater strictness, and the colleges more carefully supervised by the University than before.

It is suggested that the unwieldy governing bodies of the Universities should be reduced, and the teaching element strengthened.

The Matriculation examinations are no longer to be the tests for entrance into Government service for the future, but special *ad hoc* examinations are to be started for this purpose. These recommendations are based upon the opinion that "it is better for India that a comparatively small number of young men should receive a sound, liberal education than that a large number should be passed through an inadequate course of instruction, leading to a depreciated degree."

The proposals of the Commission will undoubtedly make for efficiency, but they attack powerful vested interests. It is to be hoped that the Government will not be deterred from carrying them into action by the outcry they have excited.

One more important step has been taken by Lord Curzon. It had become evident that there had been too great diversity in the interpretation the Local Governments placed upon the orders of the Government of India with reference to Education. The Viceroy had no desire to repress the adaptation of education to local necessities, but he has established a new office in the Director-

Generalship of Education. It will be the duty of the Director-General to see that the general lines of the policy laid down by the Government of India are followed by the Provincial Governments, and that their efforts are "inspired by a common principle, and directed to a common aim." This office has been in existence for too short a time for any opinion to be expressed at present as to whether it is working beneficially or not.

## A MUSLIM UNIVERSITY.\*

BY ADOLF HEIDBORN.

THE Mosque El Azhar in Cairo, founded by Gauhar, the general of the Fatimid ruler Mo'-izz, is after Bologna the most ancient of existing Universities. The date of its establishment takes us as far back into the past as the very foundation of the city itself in which it stands—the year 970 A.D. It has braved the storms of a millennium, and is to this day regarded by the followers of the prophet as the truest defender of Muslim tradition, the proved guide along the tortuous paths of the religion and jurisprudence of the Faithful.

It is not the hope of mere æsthetic enjoyment that allures the European to the precincts of the "Blossoming." In fact, in grandeur of architecture it is left far behind by the mosques of Ibn Tulûn and the Sultan Hasan; and the buildings of the opulent Circassian dynasty far surpass it in refined splendour of decoration. No; he is fascinated rather by the bustling life of its courts and halls, by the picturesque mêlée of so many thousand different types of all the races of Islam, and not least by the astounding spectacle of the teaching, which in form and spirit preserves many of the characteristics of narrow mediæval culture. It is indeed surprising to the visitor to find here the principles and methods still surviving which were in vogue in our European colleges of the twelfth century. Nothing can show us in a more telling manner the development of the European system of teaching since that time than this sudden spring into the past, which meets us here, as it were, artificially preserved in palpable reality.

And yet of late, we are bound to add, the past has not exercised unquestioned rule within the halls of the Azhar.

\* This article, by the author, appeared in German in the April number of the *Preussischen Jahrbücher*, published by Georg Stilke, Berlin.—ED.

Outward regard has of necessity been paid to the needs of the present. Rules have been issued by the administrative body, thoroughly European in spirit, and single professors have even made attempts, despite the bitterest opposition of the majority, to introduce methods more in keeping with the times, which they have learnt to know and to value in their intercourse with Europe. Still, these stray efforts have till now but little changed the character of the institution. Beneath all the paint of modern times, one detects the wrinkled features of the past, and the great question is whether the eager reformer will succeed in rejuvenating an institution gray with age, or by his efforts but precipitate its final decay.

It is the writer's purpose to describe the present condition of the Azhar, its organization and system of teaching.

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The actual organization of the Azhar is of quite modern origin, and goes no further back than the sixties of the last century. It is the work of the Shêkh el Mahdi el 'Abbâsi, the Mufti of Cairo, who was at the same time Shêkh el Azhar (Rector of the Azhar). It was he who first brought some order out of the complete chaos that existed in the administration before that time. He had registers and lists drawn up containing statistics with regard to attendance in the University, the origin and *Mazhab* (doctrine) of the students. His chief claim to honour, however, lies in the fact that he provided for a better education of the professors themselves by securing the Khedive Ismail's sanction to the examination regulations of the year 1872, which are still in force at the present day. In the course of the next few years the work which he began was carried further. In 1895 and 1896 two viceregal rescripts were issued. The one put the matter of the payment of professors on a firm basis; while the other was a statement of the principles underlying the general administration, course of teaching, conditions of admission, examinations, etc. These two documents, together with statistics, which the

Shêkh Muhammad 'Abdû, the present Mufti of Cairo, most kindly put at my disposal, form the basis of the present article. Frequent conversations also with students and professors, whose communications I checked by personal observation, have also added their quota.

At the head of the University stands the Shêkh el Azhar. In earlier times he was elected for life by the '*Ulama*, the "learned men" of the mosque, out of their own number. Since the time of the Khedive Ismail, however, he has been nominated by the Khedive himself. There is no condition with regard to his nationality; still, he has always been, as I am told, an Egyptiau. He need not belong to the sect of the Imâm esh Shâfa<sup>1</sup>, which predominates in the Nile valley, and has, in fact, often been a *Hanafi* or *Mâlîki*. By the rescript of February 1, 1896, he is invested with the superintendence of the Azhar. It is his duty to see that professors and pupils "keep to the paths of science and religion"; he is entrusted with the executive powers in regard to the rescripts respecting the Azhar and the resolutions of the administrative Council (*mejlîs el idâra*), nominates the officials, and chooses the board of examiners, of which he is the president, imposes fines and punishments, partly independently, partly according to the advice of the Council, etc.

This administrative Council consists of five members nominated by the Khedive. Three must be professors of the Azhar, the two remaining Government officials. It meets at least once a fortnight for discussion of administrative business, course of study, disciplinary measures against professors and students; it assigns to the professors their lecture subjects for one or more years, and authorizes the books to be used.

At present the gray-haired Shêkh Selîm el Bishri is the official head of the Azhar. But a far more influential part is played by another personage, the above-mentioned Shêkh el Mufti, Muhammad 'Abdû, who, as one of the Government members of the Council, is invested, so to say, with

the functions of a general inspector of the Azhar, and is at the same time its most distinguished lecturer. A man of culture and enlightenment, imbued with the knowledge of European conditions, which repeated journeys and a good command of French have enabled him the more thoroughly to study, he has exerted his determined personality in attempting to divert the mediæval system into more modern channels. All progress, such as is embodied in the rescripts of the Khedive already mentioned (the formation of a library, large building improvements, and the betterment of the Azhar's financial status), is due to his unwearied exertions.

It need hardly be added that his progressive activity has made him many enemies, and given him the reputation of an heretical innovator who impiously tramples on the hallowed traditions of Islam. A lawsuit that lately took place illustrates the prevailing bitterness of feeling against him in such narrow-minded circles. In the comic Egyptian weekly paper entitled *El hommâra muniati* (the She-Ass of My Longing), and written in the popular dialect, there appeared a satiric poem, which in a witty but very exaggerated manner branded his general attitude, his repeated visits to Europe, and his unrestrained intercourse with "Frankish" ladies as ill befitting his position and religious dignity. The last-mentioned abomination was illustrated by an instantaneous photograph this paper published, representing the Mufti in kaftan and turban in the midst of a ring of Swiss ladies. Editor and author were, it is true, visited by considerable terms of imprisonment; still, as a sign of the general feeling, the poem is instructive.

It cannot be denied that the results of the efforts of the Reform party have in reality up to the present been merely negative. Modern principles look delightful on paper, but, unfortunately, they are not written in the minds of those whose conduct they are designed to direct. The feeling of the majority, whether teachers or scholars, is still predominantly mediæval, and it can be unquestionably asserted that

no more is learned there to-day from printed books in the light of incandescent lamps than half a millennium back out of manuscripts by the flickering glimmer of *kandils*. This state of things cannot be changed by well-meaning rescripts—in fact, by nothing less than a complete revolution of the now prevailing ideas, and that revolution, if it be possible, can be achieved only by many years' unflinching effort.

The spirit prevailing in the halls of the "Blossoming" we have maintained to be essentially mediæval. One sign of this spirit is the exclusively religious basis of the whole system of study. This can be remarked at once in mere externals: the European calendar, though thirty years ago officially introduced into Egypt, halts before the hallowed door of the Azhar. The year is still the traditional lunar year of 354 or 355 days. The terms begin and end in accordance therewith whatever the time of year may be. Nor can a clock be seen in the whole huge building. And why should there be? Does not the sun, they reason, the only woman of the East spared the veil, shed her beams at all times over the whole wide court? In Cairo she fulfils her functions so much more surely than in our sad and cloudy Northern climes. With absolute punctuality she announces to the faithful the five hours of prayer: *magrib* (sunset), *aisha* (two hours after sunset), *fajr* or *subh* (dawn), *zuhr* (noon), *asr* (three hours after noon), and between these hours of prayer the regular lectures fall into their natural place. In place of our unimaginative notice, "lecture at five o'clock," and the like, one has the more romantic formula of so many "hours before sunset." It will at once be seen to what inconvenience such a system is exposed.

Religious observances form also a part of the lectures themselves. The *mudarris* (professor) always sits with his face towards Mecca. The lecture is begun and closed with religious formulæ. The lecturer begins regularly with the words: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds,

and greeting and blessing upon the most noble of the Apostles, our Lord Muhammad, upon his family and fellows altogether."

With the words, "*Qâl el mu'allif*" ("So says the author"—to wit, of the book he is lecturing on), he passes to the subject of his discourse, and closes with the formula, "God give peace [*i.e.*, to the author of the book, if he, as is generally the case, be dead], and bless our Lord Muhammad, his family and his fellows, and greet them."

It is most stringently forbidden to enter the Azhar in the shoes one has used in the street; still more so to spit or blow one's nose on the floor. And while not everyone can glory in the possession of a handkerchief, the amused visitor may often notice a worthy professor, in the middle of deepest exegesis of the Koran, catch at a slipper which he has laid at his side, thoughtfully take aim at the sole, put it back in its place, and, *prestissimo*! return to his lecture.

What now forms the subject of the lecture? Is the "Blossoming" a University in our sense, in that, though on a religious basis, it makes the body of the sciences the subject of its teaching? By no means. Only a very small part of the wide field of knowledge is ploughed. Arabic philology, Muslim theology and jurisprudence, this is the narrow sphere to which the curriculum is limited. The few other subjects represented, which are called the "unusual sciences," are, in comparison to the above, of very little account, and in examination little value is attached to them.

The "Doctors" of Islam divide the sciences into two chief groups:

1. The *'ulûm el-maqâsid* (the "end" sciences).
2. The *'ulûm el-wasâ'il* (the "means" sciences).

The former group forms the proper *end* of all scientific effort; the latter affords the *means* to reach that end. These two groups are also called respectively *el 'ulûm el-naqliyya* (traditional sciences) and *el 'ulûm el-'aqliyya* (intellectual sciences).

The obligatory sciences taught in the Azhar are :

(a) In the group of the '*ulûm el-maqâsid*' :

1. '*Ilm el-kalâm* (dogmatic theology).
2. '*Ilm el-akhlâk ed-diânîyya* (religious ethics).
3. '*Ilm el-fikh wa usûlihi* (jurisprudence and its principles).
4. '*Tefsîr el Kor'ân* (Koran exegesis).
5. '*Hadîth* (tradition as embodied in sayings and actions ascribed to the Prophet).

(b) In the group of the '*ulûm el-wasâ'il*' :

1. '*Nahv* (syntax).
2. '*Sarf* (accidence).
3. '*Ilm el-belâra* (rhetoric).
4. '*Mantik* (logic).
5. '*Mustalah el-hadîth* (terminology of "tradition").
6. '*Hisâb* (arithmetic).
7. '*Eljibr* (algebra).
8. '*Arûd* (prosody and verse).
9. '*Qâfiyya* (art of rhyming).

As optional sciences are taught—

(a) In the group of the '*ulûm el-maqâsid*' :

1. '*Tarîkh el-islâm* (history of Islam).
2. '*Sanâ'at el-inshâ* (art of style).

(b) In the group of the '*ulûm el-wasâ'il*' :

1. '*Mabâdi el-handasa* (elements of geometry).
2. '*Taqwîm el-buldân* (geography).
3. '*Ilm er-riâda* (mathematics).

The sphere of the '*ulûm el-wasâ'il*' thus includes little but the Arabic language and certain subjects which have for their aim the sharpening of the intellect. Their study is to make the student capable of approaching with the requisite intelligence the '*ulûm el-maqâsid*' (the sciences of religion and jurisprudence). Therefore the express condition that the latter studies cannot be entered upon until a thorough

grounding in the first—*i.e.*, above all, in the Arabic language—has been secured. This may appear strange to a European. He takes for granted that a student is able without more ado to commence the study of scientific works written in his mother tongue. Not so, however, in the East. To begin with, the difference between the conversational and written language in Arabic is so considerably greater than in the European languages. Even an Egyptian of the educated classes needs years of persistent study of the grammar and vocabulary of his incomparably rich written language to be able to apply it with any degree of confidence. Many, whose calling in life demands no such exact knowledge of the written language, content themselves with an *à peu près*, and one can often find an Arab express himself very much more happily on paper in English or French than in his mother tongue. If this holds good for the members of the better classes, how much more so for the uncultured peasants' sons, who largely form the staple supply of students in the Azhar. Then, again, there is another large gulf between the written Arabic of to-day and the classical language of the literature with which the Azhar has most to do. The highest glories of Arabic literature lie some thirteen centuries back, and even though the modern written Arabic conforms as nearly as possible to the ancient in syntax and accidence, it shows great differences in style and vocabulary. Many words have become obsolete, others have altogether changed their meaning, new ideas have demanded new expressions, and, above all, through the ever-growing influence of European languages, the style has become very modern, and even, in the opinion of the classicists, downright un-Arabic in character. It follows that linguistic study must play a large part in the programme of the Azhar. For the non-Arabs, who form a considerable fraction of the whole, the necessity, of course, becomes even greater.

The student, then, after assimilating a sufficient know-

ledge of the "means" studies, starts on the course of "religious and legal sciences." Both the latter studies go hand in hand, for, according to the Muslim conception, divine and secular law are in indissoluble union. Both are founded on the Koran, which, as the direct revelation of God's will, is to the Muslim not only his standard of belief, but also the only source of all civil law, which, whenever dark or dumb, is illuminated and completed by the traditional sayings of the Prophet, the first Khalifas, and the founders of the four great orthodox sects of Islam.

In the course of time this rigid theocratic principle, which entrusted the whole jurisdiction to spiritual courts, was to some extent broken through, as European influence made its way in the countries dominated by Muslim customs. At first it was infringed only in favour of Europeans, who through the so-called "capitulations" were put under the jurisdiction of their own representatives; later, however, also in favour of the natives themselves by the constitution of the secular native courts, to which a great part of the powers of the spiritual courts were ceded. At present there exist—beyond the Consular courts, which only have a narrow sphere—three jurisdictions in Egypt: the *mehâkim esh-shar'îyya* (spiritual courts) decide all questions of personal statute, family and hereditary rights, etc.; the *mehâkim el-ahlîyya* (the native courts) deal with all other legal matters among the natives; and the Mixed Tribunals, founded in 1876, settle disputes between foreigners and Egyptians, or between foreigners of different nationalities.

In keeping with this dualism of their conception of law—the ancient theocratic idea of Islam on one side and the modern Egyptian conception thoroughly imbued with the European spirit on the other—is the two-fold nature of legal study. The principles that govern the *mehâkim el-ahlîyya* and the "Mixed Tribunals" are taught in the École Khédiviale, while the Azhar occupies itself exclusively with the theories of Muslim law underlying the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts. The latter, again, is taught in connec-

tion with the different tenets of the four Mezâhib (sects or doctrines) into which orthodox Islam is divided. These sects are called after their founders, the *Hanifi*, *Mâliki*, *Shâfa'i*, and *Hanbali*. To the *Hanifi* sect belong the Turks, and, above all, the present Commander of the Faithful, the Sultan. The *Mâlikis* flourish largely in North-West Africa; the *Shâfa'is* are widely spread in Egypt. The *Hanbalis* number only few followers. Out of the 251 professors of the Azhar in 1901-1902, 72 were *Hanifis*, 77 *Mâlikis*, 100 *Shâfa'is*, and 42 *Hanbalis*; of the 10,403 students, 2,951 were *Hanifis*, 2,454 *Mâlikis*, 4,969 *Shâfa'is*, and 29 *Hanbalis*. Before the student approaches the principles of other sects, he must first make himself master of his own. In the board of examiners the first three sects have always two representatives; if the examined belongs to the *Hanbali* sect, one of the three *Hanbali* professors is added to the board. In earlier times it seems that the opposing theories of the different sects, which were taught at one and the same time, gave occasion to the most exciting discussions, which, not too rarely, when the tongue was tired, were fought out with the sword. To avoid the violence of collision between the fanatic spirits, the followers of different sects were allotted different parts in the Azhar, beyond which they were not to stray. To-day one sees no more of such sparkling ebullitions. Islam has grown old and apathetic, and the *Shâfa'i* professor can be heard calmly expounding his doctrine about the only saving way of ablutions, caring not a jot for the fact that his *Hanifi* colleague, by the next column, is preaching just the opposite.

The dissenting *Shi'i* sect, to which the Persians hold, is not represented in the Azhar. Though it is not specifically forbidden, still, any possible professors or students of this persuasion would have to endure so much, through the hostility of the orthodox *Sunni* majority, that they would soon lay down their arms. Makrizi informs us that, in the year 1415, among 750 poor students then residing in the Mosque, there were also Persians, thus by a natural infer-

ence *Shi'is*. Now, however, in the halls founded under the auspices of a *Shi'i* Khalifa by a Greek Mamlūk, only the orthodox Islam holds sway.

Most astonishing to us, so diametrically opposed as it is to our custom, is the manner of teaching. Of lecture-rooms, where the professor can be isolated with his class, there are none. A single enormous hall, some 240 feet long and 150 feet wide, traversed by eight rows of columns, unites under its roof both professors and pupils. Chaotic confusion, deafening chatter of tongues, ceaseless coming and going, not a moment of quietness—every one doing what his sweet will bids! Amid this whirl, the professors, leaning against columns, or squatting on low stools in the middle of a circle of twenty to thirty students, deliver their lectures. The European cannot conceive how teaching can be given under such conditions; amid the bustle he catches scarcely a word of the lecture. Even the attempt at concentration of thought appears to him an impossibility. Not so to the Egyptian: to him noise is a condition of work. In fact, one may often see the native in the street before a café, surrounded by crowds of persistent beggars and street musicians, peacefully getting through his correspondence. But this, after all, is a matter of custom; much more important than this outward difference between European and Oriental system of teaching is the wide cleft which divides their essentials.

The professor does not, according to his knowledge and inclination, choose his special subject, but it is assigned him by the administrative Council. He is expected to be versed in all the official branches of study. It is clear how much the thoroughness of his accomplishment must thereby suffer. So the professor, apart from laudable exceptions, seldom attempts to introduce the pupil rationally into his subject; he does not trouble himself to give a methodically arranged picture of the present position of the study, freed from all antiquated and superfluous matter. Nor does he ever aim at teaching his pupils to think. He is

content with the thankless repetition of the doctrines and principles of past centuries, as they stand in the books hallowed by tradition, and handles them without the slightest criticism as never-changing truths. Doubt, the source of all scientific progress, is most severely prescribed. *Jura in verba magistri* is the first academical duty, and the disrespectful pupil who puts the too advanced question is smartly called to order with an energetic '*Itakid wa lâ tagâdil*' ("Believe, and question not"). Nothing is more characteristic of the whole system of teaching than the stereotyped phrase which one gets from the students as answer to the question what their Shêkh is lecturing on: "He is reading the book of the Shêkh So-and-so." *Qâl el mu'allif* (the author has said) sounds as an ever-returning refrain through the lecture. Certainly with no less unctuous repetition flowed the solemn *Labeo inquit* from the lips of Tribonian and his fellows in old Byzantium. The ancient authors enjoy a reputation before which all bow. Even the broad-minded Shêkh Muhammad 'Abdu must so far yield to custom, and at least *pro forma* announce that he reads a certain book, though it forms in no way the foundation of his lectures.

It is according to the principles laid down in these old books that the spiritual courts give judgment, even though custom and condition have, since the time of their composition, completely changed. In short, the old jurists and theologians are regarded as infallible, and some are even honoured as saints (*e.g.*, the approach of a non-Muslim to the tomb of Imâm esh Shâfa'i is strictly forbidden) and the presumption that one can excel them or merely do likewise is considered a most audacious sacrilege.

The spirit of independent research, which was by no means alien to the spirit of Islam, has been cramped by an anxious dependence on the letter of the law. In place of rational inquiry, we see only a blind flocking hither and thither on the broad highway of ancient ideas and prejudices. Glossing, compiling, commentating is the very life-

blood of these excellent professors. To us the accomplishments of the Bolognese "Postglossatores" seem a record of unfruitful verbosity. But even their most glorious *distinctiones* and *ampliationes* grow pale in the light of their rivals in the Azhar. Their refinement of commentating is incomparable. First the original text of a work (*matn*) is read, and as far as possible committed to memory; then are treated in order the *sharh* (commentary on the text), the *hâshiyya* (commentary on the commentary), and finally the *taqrîr* the third (commentary on the original work). And what sort of commentaries? An example: The copulative particles in Arabic are *wa* and *fa*; The former merely co-ordinate, while the latter generally contains an idea of progress in the action. Why did the author use the one and not the other? The commentators rival one another in fine explanations, and fill full so many small-typed folio sheets with their reasons, that in the end the student, from mere superfluity of commentary, forgets what really is being commented on.

When the pupil has made his way through the labyrinth of the various commentaries on one work—which lasts a year or longer—then a second work with its collected commentaries is the subject of another year or so's mental wanderings, and so on *ad infinitum*, till the unfortunate intellect, through the muddled ideas which endless hair-splitting distinctions engender, loses all vitality, and at last, instead of clearness and order, is master merely of a barren confusion. No wonder that under this method the pupil can pass twelve to fifteen years in the Azhar without acquiring any useful ideas.

Intelligent Muslims do not, of course, fail to recognise the harmful results this system entails. Lately, an attempt *ex officio* was made to lessen this fury of commentating and over-estimation of faded book-wisdom. A clause of the rescript of February 1, 1896, enjoins that during the first four years the student shall study only the text and the *sharh*, not till then shall he approach the *hâshiyya*, and to

study the *tâgrîr* he needs the special permission of the *mejlîs el idâra*. And the further order, forbidding the use of books not sanctioned by the Council as basis of teaching, is made less after the manner of a muzzling order than with the express intention of culling out and in the end replacing worthless books. These useful regulations, however, have till now achieved little in face of the stubborn opposition of the professors, who continue unerring in the old paths, less from ill-will, I suppose, than from ignorance of better methods. For not understanding, as is mostly the case, any European language, they cannot inform themselves of Western systems, and, in fact, how can one expect them not to regard their system as the right one, considering that year after year so many thousand pupils of all peoples and climes come to Cairo to acquire Muslim wisdom at the pure springs of the Azhar?

The attendance at the Azhar is at present still surprisingly numerous; in earlier times, considering the bad communications then existing, the numbers must have been perfectly astounding. Statistics, however, only take us back to 1870. According to these the University had its most prosperous year in 1876, when it numbered 10,780 students and 321 professors. In the following years a decrease set in.

In the mind of the old-fashioned Egyptian paterfamilias has gradually been dawning the conviction—especially since the English occupation—that it is better for his son to take in the State Law or Medical Schools a course which leads to good Government positions or lucrative professions, than to brood year in year out in the Azhar over old folios, with no more hope than at the best to starve, a badly-paid mosque-priest, professor, *kâdî* or *mufti*. This profane view has even found its way into the very hallowed halls of the “Blossoming.” One of the *Shêkhs* once told me with sparkling eyes how his son was a public prosecutor in Upper Egypt; considering the present increased price of living, he added, he was so much better off than if he had studied like his fathers “*nahv*” or “*fikh*” in the Azhar. So in

1898 we find only 8,246 students and 191 Shékhs in the Azhar. In the last few years, however, the rapid extension of the railway to Khartûm since Lord Kitchener's campaign has been the occasion of an increase in numbers, for now the journey, before taking from two to three weeks, can be made in so many days. For 1901-1902 the figures are : 10,403 students and 251 professors. The numbers of the latter have increased, largely owing to the fact that of late greater attention has been paid to the optional subjects, especially to mathematics.

Just as in the European mediæval University, the students are divided according to nationality into their several halls (*riwâks* and *haras*). Everyone is under the guardianship of a certain Shék, and has a certain part of the mosque assigned to him as his abode. At present there are twenty-six *riwâks* and fifteen *haras* (between the meaning of the two terms there is no actual difference). Out of the above-mentioned 10,403 students there are 9,948 Egyptian Muslims, and 708 Muslims of other nationality. If one considers that the Azhar, though the most important, is by no means the only mosque-school in Egypt in which the Arabic language and Muslim law is taught (besides the Azhar there are nineteen other such schools in Egypt, with a total number of 11,702 students and 779 professors, the mosque El-Ahmadi in Tanto alone having 4,173 students and 68 professors), then one finds that the total number of Egyptians engaged in the higher Muslim studies reaches 21,605, an astonishingly high number in comparison with the educational condition of the country. Still, it would be hardly correct to ascribe this crowding of the paths of knowledge to ideal motives. For a great number of the students, indeed, prefer learning, but as a lesser evil to a greater, to service in the army.

In Egypt everyone but priests, teachers, and students for these professions is liable to conscription. It is true that the chance of being called out is not great, when one considers the small number of the army (some 16,000 men)

in comparison with the  $9\frac{1}{2}$  millions of the population (census of 1897). But since the time of Muhammad 'Ali the Egyptians have such sad recollections of service that they will still do almost anything to avoid it. Self-mutilation is in the order of the day. Many avail themselves of the privilege of buying exemption, but for the poor man the only refuge is entrance into one of the mosque schools. Even within their walls the fear of service is not utterly passed.

After being there two years the student must prove to a commission that he is perfectly acquainted with his Koran ; if the commission visit him later in his University career, he must show also a thorough knowledge of Arabic syntax and *fikh*. Not till then do the military authorities leave him at peace.

This flight to the realms of learning is made easier by the slight demands made on the candidate on admission. He must be fifteen years old, be able to read and write, and know the Koran at least half by heart. That is all. Blind candidates, who are very numerous, because of the prevalence of eye diseases in Egypt, are expected to know the whole Koran by heart. Non-Arabs are admitted with no previous knowledge of Arabic. The formalities *re* admission are as follows : The candidate gives to the Shêkh of the *riwâk* or *hara* to which his origin assigns him his petition, containing his name, his *laqab* (surname taken from his town or profession of father, etc.), birth-place, and the name of the Shêkhs whose lectures he proposes to attend. Certificates of birth, vaccination, and freedom from infection are also demanded. Then he has to pass an entrance examination, in the presence of a commission which consists of two Shêkhs of his own *riwâk*, and a member of the administrative Council. Even boys under fifteen are admitted ; they are given instruction in reading, writing, and the Koran, until they have reached the specified age for admission. For this purpose there are in the Azhar nineteen *kuttâbs* (elementary schools) under the management of *fikkis*. This explains to the visitor how it is that he sees so many boys among the adult students.

The life the *mujâwirîn* (students) lead is truly puritanic in its simpleness and self-sufficiency. One like the other their days pass by, far from the distractions of the great city. A whole world divides them from the rich Pasha's son, whose clothes hail from Regent Street and French from Montmartre, whose whole aim in life is, in as short a time as possible, to fritter away his inheritance in company with his goddesses, who, after battling long in the rough water of life, have been stranded on the Nile. Perhaps our good Azhar undergraduate is not lacking in goodwill to go and do likewise, but certainly the necessary pocket-money is not forthcoming. He is as poor as a mosque mouse. His monthly allowance amounts to 2 real (8s.); besides this two cloaks a year and provisions, such as bread and cheese, are sent him from home. So armed, he must meet the demands of life—a problem not as difficult as might appear. Of college fees there are none; the teaching is free. For a bed, he sleeps rolled up in his mantle on the hard pavement of the Azhar; for washing he does not ruin himself. His clothes he patches himself with agile needle. And for food? For a *ķirsh sâr* ( $2\frac{1}{2}$ d.) in one of the numerous cookshops near by he gets a veritable feast. The flesh-pots of Egypt are no empty dream. They stand in piles on the shop table of the *tabbâkh*; aromatic vapours rise from their thick paunches in which all manner of vegetables—broad-beans, lentils, rice, cucumber, *meluhiyya* (a kind of spinach)—temptingly seethe, delicately seasoned with the dust that the passing donkey raises. Then there is a great choice of fruit at the lowest prices. Let him who will have his fill buy himself a piece of mutton or a plate of *beliyya* (maize boiled with sugar)—in short, the Azhar student lives on his couple of coppers a day like an Amir out of "The Thousand and One Nights." This holds good, of course, only for the poorest students. Those better off can share with their equally fortunate companions one of the upper rooms of the Azhar, where they live together in chaotic confusion. Of these rooms the cleanest seemed to me to be those of the

students from Java and India in the *Riwák el 'Abbási*. Many also get lodgings outside in the town ; for 4s. a month a modest little room can easily be found.

Considerable support—beyond the numerous close scholarships for the different nationalities, which I shall refer to later—is afforded by the *jirájât*, the official bread doles. In the academical year 1901-1902 13,510 loaves were distributed amongst professors and students daily. The latter have, however, no right to the privilege until after three years' residence, and then the juniors get but two, the seniors as many as eight, loaves. The professor may receive twenty-five, the mufti seventy, and the Shêkh el Azhar no less than one hundred loaves (*rarrîfs*) a day. He however, who has not a numerous family to support, sells them at a halfpenny each, and so carries on quite a little business of his own.

It is remarkable that the cost of living, while higher for the European in Cairo than in the most expensive of the great cities of the West, is for the Azhar student ridiculously cheap—at least, when he is content to deny himself the comforts of life.

*El faqr wa'd'ahu allân hikm* ("God hath turned poverty to wisdom") runs an Arabic proverb. The Azharis are wise and persevering, because they have not the means to be otherwise. They scarcely leave the mosque day or night. For where should they go? Even the visit to a modest café would make a great hole in their purse. Only on Thursday afternoons and Fridays, when there are no lectures, are the streets of the town seen to swarm with the students, easily recognised by the special way they roll their turban. Some also stray sometimes into the Viceregal library, where—as the secretary complains—they ask only for books about magic and the like. For the rest they study the whole day with a perseverance worthy of admiration, were it only directed to useful ends. Many rise from their hard beds at the first sign of dawn to perform the *fajr* (early prayer an hour and a half before sunrise),

which the Prophet's example has raised to a specially high degree of virtue ; then, after making breakfast on a piece of stone-hard bread first soaked in *mish* (cheese-water with addition of red pepper), they flock to the lectures on tradition and Koran exegesis, which, devoted as they are to specially holy subjects, are given before sunrise. After sunrise arrive the yellow loaves, smoking from the baker's oven, to recuperate the spirits exhausted by the study of the Koran. Then they hurry off to the law lectures, which are held mostly in the morning. The exceptionally studious may also perhaps attend a morning lecture on syntax or logic, till the mueddin's shrill voice summons them to mid-day prayer. And the day goes on till '*aisha* (evening prayer, two hours after sunset). Then the last of the professors disappear and make for their humble dwelling in the town. But the students often remain sitting till midnight, committing to memory the day's work with marvellous perseverance. The visitor may come when he will, he will always find crowds of students in the courts and porticoes bent over their books, with deepest determination to stamp the impress of their golden teaching on their minds. Still, when he sees these figures that nothing can distract swaying this way and that, now burying their noses in their books, now staring with meaningless gaze into the empty air, repeating with nasal accent what they have just read, he cannot resist feeling pity and pain ; they are scarcely men : they are merely automatons who hardly understand what they read. And it is sad to remark how the expression of the students' faces grows more indifferent, lethargic, and apathetic with increasing years. With what fresh and bright eyes do these boys of but ten years gaze on the world as they write their pot-hooks and hangers on their tin tablets ! See how ready they are for all sorts of fun ! What disrespectful faces they make at the *Nasrâni* (Christians) if only they think that for a moment they are not watched by their master ! And a few years later we shall find these intelligent eyes grown lifeless, these features so full of motion turned to a

stony fixedness. All their activity is destined to be paralyzed, all desire for knowledge to vanish, beneath the mildew of their perverted system of learning.

Sometimes a day's monotonous routine is broken by celebrations of less or greater interest. Perhaps a professor has finished his lectures on a certain book, which may quite well have taken him from two to three years to wade through. This is celebrated as a great event. One of his pupils that can boast of a fine voice recites appropriate passages from the Koran to the collected class; another saddles Pegasus and sings in high-flown verse the glory and the thousand virtues of the lighthouse in the billowy sea of ignorance—referring, of course, to the professor. The more bombastic the poem, the more incomprehensible the words, borrowed from ancient poets, may be, so much the more often do the intoxicated hearers interrupt the recitation with their continued *Allâ-â-â-hs*. Nuts, dates, and bananas are thrown from one to the other, and in the end perhaps one of the richer students invites the whole class to his room, where a splendid meal, watered by the nectar of the Nile, ends the day's festivities.

Or it may be a professor has been called by Allâh to a better yonder. Mourning, the pupils squat round the column, by which the "nightingale in the wood of knowledge" so sweetly sang. For three long days all teaching is set aside. In solemn procession, followed by all the Shêkhs and students, the body is borne through the "Barber's Gate" across the great court into the large eastern *liwân* (portico), and set down before the Kibla. Meanwhile the *fukahâ* sing dirges and prayers for his soul from the balcony beneath the minaret of Kâitbâi. Elegies are declaimed, and after silent prayer the funeral procession leaves the mosque by the east gate and turns towards the city of tombs in the desert, where the body is laid in its last resting-place.

Not seldom also some change is brought in the daily round by the quarrels and brawls which, in the crowding

of so many nationalities in so narrow a space, are hardly to be avoided. The Upper Egyptians, and *Magrebis* (North-West Africans)—above all, the blind students—are always at the beck and call of the spirit of strife. These troubles, if not serious enough to demand the presence of the police, are smoothed down by the Shêkh el Gindi (administrator of the Azhar). He generally gives the excited gentlemen opportunity to return to their senses in confinement. Against his decision there is an appeal to the Shêkh el Azhar. To uphold order among professors and students, the latter has at his command the following punishments, some of which he imposes independently, and others according to advice from his Council.

1. *Inzâr* (warning).
2. Temporary or permanent withdrawal of bread doles.
3. Temporary or permanent withdrawal of allowance.
4. Deprivation of privilege of exemption from military service.
5. Prolongation of the prescribed term of residence.
6. Striking off the books of the Azhar.

The academical year begins on the 16th of the month *Shawwâl*, and ends on the last day of *Rajab*. During the months of *Sh'abân*, *Ramadân*, and the first half of *Shawwâl*, there are therefore no lectures. Besides this vacation, instruction is not given on thirty-five other days in the course of the year, owing to the following feasts :

1. The feast of Sacrifice (*'id el adha*), better known under its Turkish name, *Qurbân Bairam*.
2. *Yaum el 'ashûra* (10th Moharram), which is celebrated with great solemnity, especially by the Persians, as it is the anniversary of Husain's death.
3. The birthday of the Prophet (*môlid en-nebî*).
4. The birthday of Husain (*môlid sêdna el Husain*).
5. The Mahmal Feast (day of the despatch of the carpet destined for the Kaba in Mecca).
6. *Kat el Khaliîj* (opening of the Nile dam).

7. *Môlid es sêdna Ahmad el Bédauwi* (Birthday of the local saint of Tanta, notorious through the fair held at that place on this occasion).

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So the years pass by amid the sweet lethargy of custom. Earlier, it appears, many students found their work in the "Blossoming" so fascinating that they spent their whole lives in the shade of its columned halls. Now, however, the period of study is limited to eight and twelve years respectively, according to whether the "seeker of wisdom" intends to take the ordinary (*shahâdet el ahliyya*) or the professional degree (*shahâdet el 'âlimiyya*). The student presents himself for the former examination after eight years' study before an examining board consisting of three professors and the Shêkh el Azhar. If successful he is entitled to enter upon the priestly functions of an *imâm*, *khâtib* and *wâiz*, or to teach in the elementary classes in mosques and schools. The candidate for the professional examination must have devoted in the Azhar at least twelve years' unbroken study to the obligatory subjects, mentioned above. Permission to stand as candidate is given during the first three months of the academical year. At the end of this term the Shêkh el Azhar chooses the examining committee of six professors, two of whom must belong to the *Hanafi*, *Shâfa'i*, and *Mâlîki* sects. In case, however—though this seldom occurs—the candidate is a Hanbali, the board is joined by a professor of this persuasion. The Shêkh el Azhar also distributes the different branches of the examination among the several examiners, and decides what special sphere the examination on each subject shall occupy. According to the regulations of February 1, 1896, the candidate is examined—

1. On his understanding of the interpretation of the authors ;
2. On the degree of his scientific knowledge.

From both these standpoints are his accomplishments in each branch specially criticised, and according to the

general result he is put, if successful, in either the first, second, or third class, to which the Khedive adds his *bujuruldu* ("We have condescended"). If unsuccessful, the candidate can present himself after two years' further study for a second examination, and if necessary after another year he may have his third and last chance. Concerning the privileges acquired by this professional degree the regulations are silent.

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We have treated the Azhar in relation to its administration, branches of study, methods of teaching, attendance, student life, and examinations. We have still to give certain particulars about its finances and the salaries of professors.

The revenues of the Azhar come from four sources :

1. Contribution from the State exchequer (*mâlîyya*).
2. Contribution from the *dîwân el auqâf* (administration of the pious foundations).
3. Revenues of the *auqâf el arwika*.
4. Revenues of the *auqâf el ahlîyya*.

The *auqâf* (foundations) are seen to play a large part in the revenues of the Azhar. Indeed, to "do good and share with one's neighbour" is not only a Christian virtue, but also a principle of Islam, of which at all times practical proof has been shown by the most lavish liberality. Princes and men of wealth have always rivalled one another in generosity of giving large sums for public ends. Countless mosques, wells, baths, and hospitals have owed their origin to private initiative, and, above all, the educational establishments have this trait, deep-set in the character of the Muslim, to thank for their astonishingly rapid growth in the early centuries of Islam. To give permanence to their creations, the donors never failed to finance them sufficiently, largely through assignation of intransferable property, from whose revenues the expenses of building, payment of professors, and scholarships for students might be met. Such a foundation is called a *waqf*, and the administrator instituted by the donor, the *nâzir*. Should the

*nâzir* or his legal successor have died or be otherwise rendered incapable to administer the foundation, then, according to Muslim law, the *kâdi* has the right to choose another *nâzir*. In Egypt, since the beginning of the last century, the Khedive has always been chosen *nâzir* of such foundations, and this caused under the Khedive Abbâs I. the introduction of a special office, entrusted with the administration of these foundations (the *Diwân 'umûm el auqâf*—"general administration of the pious foundations"). Those foundations, on the other hand, which are administered by the *nâzir* chosen by the donor, are called *auqâf el ahlîyya*. In the Azhar there is also a third kind of foundation: that is the *auqâf el arwika*, the foundations designed for the different *arwikat* (nationalities), of which the professional and student body of the Azhar is composed. The following defines more particularly the sources and disposal of the revenues of the Azhar in the year 1901-1902:

1. From the *Mâliyya* (State Exchequer):

	Egypt. £.	Mill.	Egypt. £.	Mill.*
(a) For the professors and the sons of deceased professors ... ..	5,883	... 528		
(b) For the professors, instead of the official cloaks (which were earlier given them) ... ..	727	... 733	6,611	... 261

2. From the *diwân el auqâf* (administration of the pious foundations):

(a) For the professors ... ..	1,035	... 145		
(b) For the lecturers on mathematics and geography ... ..	648			
(c) For the writing masters ... ..	360			
(d) For the shêkhs at the head of the <i>arwikat</i> ... ..	468			
(e) For the library ... ..	200			
(f) For the administration ... ..	150			
(g) For the servants ... ..	1,834	... 200		
(h) For the prizes ... ..	600			
(i) For the students of the <i>Waqf el Khairi</i> ... ..	400	... 200		
(j) For the <i>Zâwiyet el 'Omiân</i> (blind quarter) ... ..	48			
(k) For the festivities on the nights of the 13th and 14th <i>Ramadân</i> ... ..	14		5,757	... 545

\* The Egyptian pound = 1,000 millièmes = 100 piasters = 26 francs.

3. From the *auqâf* of the separate *arwâkas*,  
both for professors and students :

	Egypt. £.	Mill.	Egypt. £.	Mill.
<i>Riwâk</i> of the <i>Atrâk</i> (Turks) ...	516	855		
<i>Riwâk</i> of the <i>Magârabe</i> (North-West Africans) ... ..	364	480		
<i>Riwâk</i> of the <i>Hanafiyya</i> (Hanafi sect)	240	960		
<i>Zawiyet el 'Omiân</i> (blind quarter) ...	196	920		
<i>Riwâk</i> of the <i>Shawwâm</i> (Syrians) ...	94	105		
<i>Riwâk</i> of the <i>Sa'ida</i> (Upper Egyptians)	50			
<i>Riwâk</i> of the <i>Ibn Mo'ammâr</i> ...	42	688		
<i>Riwâk</i> of the <i>Sharâkwa</i> (from <i>Sharkîyya</i> province) ... ..	27			
<i>Riwâk</i> of the <i>Sulmânîyya</i> (from Jerusalem)... ..	13	360		
<i>Riwâk</i> of the <i>Haramîn</i> (from Mecca and Medina) ... ..	11			
<i>Riwâk</i> of the <i>Sanârîyya</i> ... ..	6	600		
<i>Riwâk</i> of the <i>Akrâd</i> (Kurds) ...	68	910	1,632	878
			14,001	1684

4. The *Jirâjât* (bread doles) daily :

(a) From the <i>Diwân el Auqâf</i> ... ..	4,043 loaves.
(b) From the <i>Auqâf el Ahlîyya</i> ... ..	9,467 loaves.
	13,510 loaves.

In respect of salary, the 251 professors at present in the Azhar are divided into two groups, each of which again falls into three classes. The first group includes the sixty-one professors who were already on the staff of the Azhar before the above-mentioned examination order of February 3, 1872. They receive a monthly salary of not less than 300, 200, and 100 piasters respectively, according to which of the three classes they belong. The second group includes the 190 professors appointed since 1872; they receive at least 150, 100, and 75 piasters monthly, according to their respective class. The administrative Council fixes their class and advancement according to its opinion of the accomplishment of the several professors.

Added to this monthly salary, distinguished professors receive a special yearly compensatory allowance in place of the cloaks which in earlier times were given them (*bedl el*

*Kiswa*). The whole contribution devoted to this purpose amounts to £727,733 Mill., and the allowances vary in seven classes between a maximum of £30,867 Mill., and a minimum of £12.

Nor are the widows and orphans of deceased professors forgotten. The Council decides what proportion of the father's salary shall be applied to the orphaned sons' education, always, however, subject to the condition that they study at the Azhar. If within twenty years' study they have not presented themselves for examination, or, doing so, have failed, the support is withdrawn.

The salaries of the Azhar professors are, as the above shows, extraordinarily small, and far below the £15 to £20 monthly which even inferior Government officials often draw. So the professors lead for the most part a truly ascetic life; many never possess so much as a *selamlík* where they can receive a guest; a couple of chairs put out in the middle of the street in front of the nearest café must replace that luxury. Still, they can depend on an income which, though slight, is sure, while in earlier times they were thrown almost entirely on the mercy of charity and private enterprise. Yet even this bare return for so much learning is begrudged them by many. The feeling of the young Egyptian generation is almost without exception one of hostility against them. All the State officials, doctors, lawyers, and journalists who have acquired a superficial varnish of education at the "Frankish" schools of Syria and Egypt look down with contempt on the "Blossoming," grown gray with age. There, they say, even Arabic cannot be learnt, the possibility of a transformation is inconceivable to them; and so, they declare, the best plan is without more ado to close an institution that does more harm than good. Among the professors of the Azhar also it is just the most eminent that are despairing of the chance of reform. Tired of the ceaseless wrangling and obstinate opposition of the majority, they speak of a secession to new abodes, where, freed from deep-rooted

abuse and paralyzing tradition, they may enjoy a more beneficial activity.

What has the future in store for the Azhar? Is she destined to sink into greater weakness still and at last dissolve in gradual decay? Cannot her languid frame be invigorated by the breath of a new life?

The solution of this problem is one of drastic importance for the future of Muslim Egypt.

## THE BASHGALĪ KĀFIR LANGUAGE.

BY INDICUS VIATOR.\*

KĀFIRISTĀN,† or the Montenegro of the Hindū Kush, as it has been styled by a Russian writer, is a country in which a considerable amount of curiosity has centred during the last forty or fifty years. This has been chiefly due to the romantic accounts of its brave and mysterious people which have been published by writers such as Elphinstone, Burnes, Masson, Wood, Lumsden. and Raverty, coupled with its secluded and impenetrable position, which rendered it impossible to ascertain how much of the descriptions of the above writers would prove absolutely reliable when the country should be regularly visited and explored.

Kāfiristān, as Dr. Bellew observed in his very interesting lecture at the United States Institute, Simla, on "Kāfiristān and the Kāfirs," may be regarded as the country "which forms a portion only of a more extended area, known in its entirety (prior to the invasion of Islām) by some other name or names, such as Bakhtar on the west, Bolor on the east, Badakhshān on the north, and Dārdistān on the south. Although all these countries were formerly included in Kāfiristān, the precise limits of neither is now known.

The extent of the present population of Kāfiristān is very variously estimated. There is no satisfactory basis for any computation. The total number of men, women, and children is probably between 500,000 and a million.

The chief recent authority on Kāfiristān is Sir George Robertson, who has written two very interesting works on

\* "Notes on the Bashgali Kāfir Language," by Colonel J. Davidson, C.B. Printed in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* at the expense of the Government of British India.

† Kāfiristān lies, roughly speaking, between lat.  $34^{\circ} 30'$  and  $36^{\circ}$  north and long.  $69^{\circ} 30'$  and  $71^{\circ} 30'$  east.

the subject—viz., “Kāfiristān and its People” (1895) and “The Kāfirs of the Hindū Kush” (1896). It is believed that he is the only European traveller who has really penetrated into the country, having been fortunate enough to reside in the valley of Kāmdēsh in 1899-1901. Sir W. Lockhart’s Political Mission to Chitrāl entered the upper Bashgal Valley, but only remained there a very few days. Thanks to Sir G. Robertson’s graphic pen and illustrations, we have been made familiar with many points of the religions, manners, and customs of a considerable portion of this secluded people; and if his conclusions are correct, among other advantages, we need no longer labour under the idea, once prevalent, that they have a Greek origin, as for many years was supposed to be the case. It is only fair, however, to admit that so great an authority as Sir T. H. Holdich, R.E., believes “the Kāfirs to be representatives of that very ancient Western race, the Nysæans—so ancient that the historians of Alexander refer to their origin as mythical”; and Major H. G. Raverty (*Calcutta Review*, July, 1896) gives his opinion that “the stock from which most of the Kāfirs probably sprang may be said to be more truly Greek than the people who occupy Greece at present.”

Various languages or dialects are spoken by the Kāfirs. Sir G. Robertson’s general classification of the inhabitants is:

1. The Siāh Pōsh—the larger and more important division, including five tribes. There are differences in their language, but these are more the nature of dialect than a radical distinction of language.

2. The Safēd Pōsh—viz., three tribes, the Presun, the Wai, and the Ashkun.

The Presun language differs from that of the Siāh Pōsh. The Wai language is quite different from that used by the Siāh Pōsh, or by the Presun-gul.

The language of the Ashkun is somewhat similar to that spoken by the Wai.

Sir G. Robertson, unfortunately, has published no grammar, vocabulary, or sentences in any Kāfir dialect.

By the Durand Boundary Agreement of November, 1893, the whole of Kāfiristān has been brought under the control of the Amīr of Afghānistān, a proceeding which caused some consternation among certain religious and philanthropic classes in London, as "their preservation in their ancient home is a matter of great concern to scholars and others, also to philanthropists." But the gradual transition of these tribes (which have been elsewhere styled a community of idolatrous robbers) to a state of civilization under a friendly Muhammadan Power is not, perhaps, after all, on sober reflection, a matter for such grave regret as was at first assumed.

Whatever view of the subject may be taken from a Christian religion point of view, the opinion of the political authorities in Chitrāl in 1898 was that the Kāfirs under a settled and firm rule, such as that of the late enlightened Ruler of Afghānistān, would undoubtedly become far more acceptable neighbours than in their ordinary wild and predatory state.

The opinion of General Gordon of Khartum fame, as given at pp. 133-135 of "Letters of General Gordon to his Sister," is worthy of special note in connection with this subject, as it is that of a man who had the advantage of special facilities for thinking out a very difficult question. He writes: "I do not think the time is come for the gathering in of God's inheritance—the heathen. The first thing which has to be done is to open and facilitate communication with their countries; next let the natives mix more with more civilized countries, so as to acquire their language, their own native tongue being so poor as not to contain more than three hundred words. Do you understand that with a language of three hundred words any explanation even of secular affairs must be difficult, and how much more so must be the explanation of religious truths like the Atonement, which few of us are given to

properly understand ? . . . It is remarkable that, as a rule, the Apostles went to more or less civilized countries which, though pagan, had some germ of the old truth in their religions. . . . Nations almost invariably have acquired some degree of civilization before Christianity has taken root. In our own land the Roman civilization prepared the way for the Gospel."

Sir G. Robertson mentions, to the credit of the Kāfirs, the entire absence of religious intolerance among them, and observes that converts to the Muhammadan religion are treated in every way with courtesy. He was evidently of opinion ten years ago, long before the allotment of Kāfiristān to the Amīr of Kābul, that the religion of Muhammad was making way strongly and without bloodshed. How far this movement has been permanently advanced or checked by the incorporation of Kāfiristān into the dominions of Afghānistān is not very easy to ascertain with exactness, and much may depend on the discretion of the Mullāhs, or Muhammadan priests. In the early days of the change of rulers much was wanting on the part of the priests to make the religion popular. The "Pax Britannica" has practically brought our borders (in the case of Chitrāl) contiguous with those of Kāfiristān, and opportunity of residence in Chitrāl in 1898 was taken by Colonel J. Davidson, I.S.C., to work out the first grammar and vocabulary of the Kāfirs which has been ever elaborated, and recently published in Calcutta as "Notes on the Bashgalī Kāfir Language,"\* as an extra number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. lxxi., part i., 1902.

The author, having first studied the Chitrālī language, as a means of communication with some of the Kāfirs, set to work to translate, through the medium of two well-known Kāfirs of Kāmdēsh and the Bashgal Valley and a competent Chitrālī, about 1,700 sentences suitable to the wants

\* At the Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India : Calcutta.

of travellers, officers, medical men, and magistrates, composed of words in every-day use in that part of the world; and from these, and from many others not printed in his collection, he has elaborated a simple, but useful and practical, grammar of the Bashgalī Kāfir language.

The character employed is necessarily Roman, and the transliteration, as explained on p. v, is that employed by the Government of India in its more recent linguistic publications. It is evident that some letters commonly met with in the East have not been introduced (such as the Arabic *ṣ*, *ain*, *q*), as, presumably, their use was not detected. The reader must, however, be reminded of Sir A. Burnes' opinion, that it is well-nigh impossible for an Englishman to produce some of the Kāfir sounds, and perhaps the second persons plural of the future or imperative of verbs are as difficult as any samples, in cases such as *achunlr*, *ngālr*.

Nasalization is largely employed, and many of the sounds of *d*, *t*, *r*, are peculiarly hard. These struck the author as forming the chief characteristics of the pronunciation.

It must have been a satisfaction to the author to have ascertained, after his work had been prepared for the press, the existence of a collection of manuscript notes of the language by Sir G. Robertson, and to find that his own views of the language were corroborated in respect to all essentials by those of the distinguished traveller, and also by the Rev. Worthington Jukes, formerly of the Church Missionary Society, Peshāwar. It is sincerely to be hoped that Sir G. Robertson will be induced to put through the press the valuable collection of manuscript notes taken down in Kāfiristān. The difficulties experienced in acquiring the language of so primitive a people as the Kāfirs of the Hindū Kush was evidently considerable, especially to a person with very limited time available for the purpose. The Kāfir dialects are not written, and there are neither books nor inscriptions of any sort in the country written in the present or past languages of the inhabitants.

Dr. Bellew, in his lecture already referred to, states, in regard to his efforts to prepare a vocabulary of the language: "The work proved a most difficult task, owing to constant misunderstandings and loss of temper on both sides, and I finally gave it up as a hopeless job." This remark is followed by two pages of dialogue indicating "the affliction encountered in attempting to prepare a few short and simple sentences."

Dr. Leitner, in his "Sketch of the Bashgalī Kāfirs" (1879), also expatiates on this subject; and Sir G. Robertson, in "Kāfirs of the Hindū Kush," describes the difficulties which he experienced in the following words:

"I have discovered another plan of getting my house emptied. It was to study the Bashgal language. At first my would-be instructors were numerous, and the greatest delight and amusement was shown at my efforts to attain the accurate pronunciation of baffling sounds. But very soon the whole thing was voted a bore, and it was only necessary for me to beg a repetition of some strange nasal syllable for my room to be rapidly cleared. One by one, without the least ceremony, my visitors would hitch up their long brown Chitrālī robes, shoulder their walking-sticks, jump from my door, and disappear. . . . All my efforts to get instructors who would listen to me and reply to my questions for more than ten minutes were in vain. I took the dejected Shēr Malik on more than one occasion to some secluded spot on the hillside, made him sit down in such a position that he could see nothing but myself, and then proceeded to ask him the Kāfir equivalent for Hindustānī words or phrases, of course insisting on a clear understanding about the (to my ear) unaccustomed sounds he uttered. He never could endure the proceedings for more than a few minutes. Before one complete phrase had been written down in the note-book he was practically asleep before my eyes, as though hypnotized. One day Torag Merak came to me, and said: 'Take a wife, Frank. Women never leave off talking, so you will learn our

language; otherwise you will never be able to talk it to us.'"

Dr. H. W. Bellew, in his very interesting remarks at a Congress of Orientalists in September, 1891, describes the influence of the Greek tongue on the language spoken by the tribes of Afghānistān, Badakhshān, etc. The Greeks, as he remarks, were dispossessed of Bactria and deprived of their rule in Afghānistān by the Juta (the Goths of Asia), whose tribes are now largely representative along the Indus Valley.

It has evidently been hoped by those who believe in the Greek origin of the Kāfirs that the language, when unearthed, would show a preponderance of Greek.

An examination of the Bashgalī Kāfir language, however, as shown in the book under review, certainly exhibited no very pronounced traces of the ordinary classical or modern Greek; but it is evident that the language contains many words apparently derived from Sanscrit and Persian sources. One of the marked characteristics which has struck several Europeans who have heard it spoken is the absence of aspirates.

The language is simple in regard to its grammar, and barren as to words, one word answering for several of such equivalents in English; but to make up for these advantages there are numerous very intricate and delicate rules of euphony which probably can only be mastered by long study, and, as is the case in Chitrālī, there are large numbers of idioms.

Rules of grammar are, it would appear, almost secondary in importance to rules of euphony. This fact will perhaps account to some extent for the difficulty in determining whether the agent or instrumental form of construction is used or not, as its use seems discernible in some sentences where it might be expected, but not in others. Instances of these are brought to notice in the grammar. Another point not clearly solved is whether the adjective undergoes inflexion in connection with the substantive which it quali-

fies, and the difficulty of determining this disputed point is possibly due to the same reason.

Thirty-eight pages of the grammar are given up to samples of conjugations of nineteen verbs; their general regularity is noteworthy. A concise table on p. 18 shows at a glance the general form of eleven tenses of five verbs, each of which has in its last syllable, seriatim, one of the five vowels.

The system of counting, viz., by twenties, (note a similarity in the French *quatre vingt*), is noteworthy, as also the fact that the Kāfir representative of 1,000 in enumeration is 400.

In addition to the grammar and sentences, the publication contains five appendices, in which much information interesting to students of languages of the East is collated, and will now be briefly referred to.

Appendix I. contains a list of some important publications or manuscript papers which help to throw light on the languages of Kāfiristān. This bibliography seems very comprehensive, and gives a few interesting extracts from some of the authors. From a perusal of the bibliography, it is apparent that, up to the present, no regular grammar of any Kāfir language or dialect can be traced as having been published, and only a very few vocabularies of words in different dialects, the largest being that by Sir H. B. Lumsden, containing about 1,600 words in the dialect spoken by the Waigul Kāfirs.

At p. 178 is an epitome of the various tribes, as given by Sir G. Robertson, with their villages. The opinion is expressed that the principal races of Kāfiristān are descended from the old original population of Eastern Afghānistān, who refused to accept the Muhammadan faith about 950 A.D.

Appendix II. gives a translation of the Bible story of Nathan and David in four languages which might have been expected to have an affinity to the Kāfir dialects. There is not much apparent resemblance between them and the Bashgalī dialect.

Appendix III. gives twenty words in every-day use in eighteen languages or dialects of the East, including five Kāfir dialects, with the English equivalents. More than half of these words in the Bashgalī dialect resemble Sanscrit.

Appendix IV. gives a list of some of the publications which treat of the Bolor country. This has been compiled by reason of a translation of the Lord's Prayer having been published by a Russian author, purporting to be a sample of the "language of the Bolors or Siāh Pōsh Kāfirs," who, he considers, are descendants of certain Slavs in which Russia would naturally be interested. But it appears that the Russian author has not been very fortunate in his so-called specimen of the Kāfir dialect, for a well-known Continental philologist has given his opinion that the sample of the so-called Bolor or Siāh Pōsh language of Terentief is an incorrect copy of the version of the Lord's Prayer in the language of the Ama Ilosa Kāfirs of South Africa. The letter II represents the so-called lateral click of the South African languages.

Appendix V. contains a few samples of imprecations, verses of Kāfir hymns, etc.

Dr. Leitner, in "Kāfiristān and the Khalifa Question," observes that the incorporation of Kāfiristān in Afghānistān "has led to the construction of a military road, which, beginning at Jelālābād, is to end in Badakhshān, thus facilitating the approach of a Russian army on the most direct conceivable route to India, and has rendered absurd the vaunted 'closing of the gates' in distant and unapproachable Hunza and Chitrāl, on which so much treasure and so many lives have been wasted. The Pāmīr agreement is as incapable and irrelevant in protecting India against a conjectural Russian invasion as the erection of a fort at Inverness would be to prevent a French army landing at Dover."

If, therefore, there is any possibility that this hitherto secluded country should become the theatre of military

operations, it is well that a book has at last been prepared which will facilitate the study of what is understood to be the most important of its languages.

Colonel Davidson says he makes no claim to be considered a philologist, and writes in support of no theory in particular. This contribution to the study of a language which has hitherto puzzled many students of Oriental languages has been put together chiefly in hope that it may be useful if military operations should at any time be necessary in the locality where the Kāfirs would be employed.

The author states that, though every care has been taken in his compilation, he cannot guarantee that his attempt to reduce the language to writing can be free from errors. The reasons for this are given in p. xi of the preface, and it may at once be conceded that, without greater opportunities for investigation than were at Colonel Davidson's disposal, it would be impossible to decide such questions as whether the construction of the sentence requires the peculiar form known as the "agent" or "instrumental" (as in Arabic and Sanscrit), or whether it follows the rule of the Persian language. A traveller, having no other means of acquiring the Punjābī language than by access to two or three uneducated agricultural Sikhs from the country around Ludiāna, might well be puzzled on a similar question.

The table of contents at the commencement of the book enables the reader to trace any particular part to which he wishes to refer.

## AN INTERESTING BUT LITTLE-KNOWN CHINESE CORNER OF BRITISH INDIA.

BY PINYA.

THE growth of the Indian Empire and its commercial enterprises form one of the most interesting epochs in the history of the building up of Greater Britain. The early struggles and rivalries of buccaneering British, French, Dutch, and Portuguese merchants, trading, fighting, cajoling, supplicating or dictating as occasion served; the gradual establishment of political influence, and the ultimate elimination of the European rivals of the English; the raising of armies, the fighting of great battles, and the subsequent crafty absorption of State after State comprising whole races of men; the valour of Clive and Wellesley, the splendours of Hastings contrasted with the greed of the Board of Control; the wars with Mahrattas, Sikhs, Afghans, Burmese, and the horrors and undying glories of the great Mutiny; the final eclipse of old "John Company" behind the Crown, and the subsequent consolidation of the administration under a succession of able Viceroys—all these are matters of never-failing interest and wonder, not only to the student of history, but to every Englishman for whom the traditions of his native land and the exploits of his countrymen have a true significance.

The racial distinctions which divide the three hundred and odd millions of people, whose destinies are controlled by the Government of this large and wide-extending Empire, are naturally great, and are so many as to be absolutely bewildering to any but those whose life-work consists in the study of them. How great would be the astonishment of the merchant rulers of eighteenth-century India could they behold the vast dimensions to which British India has now attained, the empire which they almost unconsciously founded, swollen far beyond the

wildest fancies ever indulged in by their imagination, and including races distinct from each other in appearance, customs and religion, the very existence of which was scarcely, or not at all, known to them.

The addition of Upper Burma to the Empire in 1885 caused, as is well known, a very large increase in the number of distinct races subject to the British Crown, for the mountains to the north, east, and west of that province are inhabited by some twenty or more highland races, whose customs and languages differ in every respect, and infallibly demonstrate their descent from quite distinct sources. These hill people, who occupy all the vast tracts which lie between Burma proper and the Chinese frontier, as the former adherents of the Burmese King, found themselves, on the disappearance of that monarch from the scene, ringed in by the ever-advancing Indian frontier, and, somewhat to their surprise, full-blown citizens of the British Empire.

Now, it happened in the dim and remote past that certain rebellious members of the Chinese agricultural population of Yunan, fleeing before the soldiers of their outraged Emperor, came and settled in the borderlands between China and the territories of the wild highlanders feudatory to Burma, and, allying themselves with a Shan kinglet, at the moment the most powerful in the neighbourhood, beat back the Chinese soldiery which a conscientious Governor had ordered to exterminate them. The refugees established themselves forthwith among the mountains where they had stood at bay, chose a ruler, founded a capital, defined the limits of their territory, and, maintaining the alliance with their Shan friends on a sort of feudatory basis, started business as a kingdom by themselves on principles and traditions purely Chinese. In course of time the Shan kingdom, to which this little State had attached itself, sank, torn by internal strife, into powerless insignificance; but the alliance, though no longer of any value as a means of defence, was continued on the original terms,

with the result that, when the Shan States came under the British yoke, this little bit of China, adhering to their eastern border and known as the Kokang State, came with them, and now forms an integral portion of the Indian Empire. It is thus in an absolutely unique position, for though there are, it is true, large colonies of Chinese merchants, artisans, and coolies (mostly emigrants from the east coast originally) living and thriving in many cities under European government, yet nowhere else in the world is there to be found a considerable population of genuine Chinese of the ignorant, agricultural class occupying lands which their fathers held before them—the slaves of all the crass superstitions and prejudices which have made China what she is, and to combat which the united efforts of European statesmen have but now proved utterly powerless—living in complete tranquillity, governed by its own ruler, and subject to its own laws, under the protection of the despised and detested “foreign devil.”

This curious little State, of which the area is some 1,000 square miles, having thus come into existence, so strengthened itself by good government and judicious policy that it passed unharmed through the long period of wars and disturbances which preceded the coming of the English, and which completely ruined almost all the surrounding States. Kokang, indeed, gathered strength from the struggles and misfortunes of its neighbours, inducing, by offers of lands and protection, many families of both Shans and Chinese to leave the districts where they were constantly subjected to war's alarms, and to settle amongst them. The result of this policy is seen at the present day in the fact that, while the country all round is a sparsely inhabited waste of jungle, Kokang exhibits every sign of prosperity and wealth.

The traveller approaching Kokang from the west—that is, from Burma—passes through a wild but picturesque country of mountains and valleys clothed all over with the densest forest. Miserable Shan hamlets are here and there met

with, around which lie meagre patches of rice-fields, while dotted about the steepest mountain-sides are the rough clearings of the wild Kachins, whose villages are concealed amid the vegetation which crowns the topmost ridges. The beautiful valleys bear numerous traces of a considerable former occupation; here are hundreds of acres of land, levelled and ridged for rice-fields, and intersected by artificial water-courses, all covered now with an impenetrable tangle of reed-grass and brushwood, while upon every knoll rising above these levels are to be seen the mango, guava, and other fruit-trees, which, though scarred by many a forest fire, still remain to mark the site of some long-vanished settlement. Evidence, in fact, is not wanting to prove that the present scanty population is but a mere remnant of what must have been, at one time, a large and flourishing community. After journeying for miles through this wilderness by paths overgrown with jungle, and almost impassable except where kept open by the passage of the wild elephants which live here undisturbed, the river Salween, which forms the western boundary of Kokang, is reached, and on crossing this the traveller immediately finds himself in very different surroundings, for, although the mountains are higher and steeper than in the country just traversed, and the valleys for the most part mere ravines and gorges, yet, in spite of these natural disadvantages, the activity and industry of man are now everywhere apparent.

There are several routes by which Kokang may be approached from the west, all presenting the same features: the abandoned jungle to be crossed, the deep and rapid Salween River with its ferry of dangerously narrow dug-out canoes, and the improved aspect of the country on the other side. The ferry at the village of Kunlon is that most generally used, but whichever is taken a stiff climb of some 3,000 feet is necessary before the interior of the State can be reached. The first thing noticeable is the improved condition of the road itself, for not only is the ever-en-

croaching jungle kept back by constant cutting and clearing, but the steeper inclines are cleverly zigzagged, and the worst places rendered easily negotiable by means of rough stone steps. Arrival on the heights above the river reveals a perfect chaos of mountain-tops and ridges stretching away to the east, with occasional broad, shallow basins lying among them. The comparative absence of jungle growth is remarkable. The constant clearing of patches for hill cultivation has, at length, completely denuded most of the slopes of their former covering of forest, while the shallow basins and every other yard of more or less level ground have long been converted into highly productive fields. The slopes themselves are in many places cut into a succession of small level terraces which, irrigated by channels from the mountain streams, bear yearly a heavy crop of rice. Much wheat, buckwheat, maize and millet is raised on the more open lands, and in the month of May the country is white with the blossom of the poppy, with which every available nook and cranny is planted. No hillside is apparently too steep for the production of this valuable, as well as beautiful, crop, and enough opium is grown in the State not only to supply local wants (every man and woman consumes it), but to furnish a considerable quantity for export to the neighbouring States and to China.

Some twenty miles east of the river Salween, in the only considerable valley in the State, is situated the village of Tawnio, the scene of the periodical market and the principal trading centre. This was at one time the capital of the State and the place of residence of the Chief, but owing to the fact that it lies only a mile or so from the Chinese border, and was found to be difficult to defend, the ruling family withdrew from it to a place of superior strength in the mountains a few miles off. It is rumoured, indeed, that they were driven from it after an unsuccessful struggle with an invading horde of "Panthé," or Muhammadan Chinese, who, themselves fleeing from persecution in the interior of China, wished to establish

themselves in Kokang, just as the founders of the State had done. This is, of course officially denied, though the earthworks of an old fortified camp, on an eminence commanding the village, are shown as the spot where the insolent invader entrenched himself, whence he repeatedly attacked the village, carrying off women and children after defeating their husbands and fathers, and from which he was only induced finally to depart by the payment of a heavy bribe.

The village at present consists of no more than a single street of squalid shops, the whole about two hundred yards long, with a row of low sheds down the middle, and a large and, for that part of the world, handsome joss-house at one end. On four days out of five the place is very quiet, cows, pigs and children sharing the street between them and reclining together under the shade of the sheds. On the fifth day, however, there is great bustle and commotion, this being, according to the custom throughout the States, the market-day. With the first streak of dawn troops of women appear, walking in single file across the fields and carrying great baskets of vegetables, supported from either end of a pole balanced on the shoulder, or slung on the back by a band of cane work passed over the forehead. These processions converge from all directions upon the village, finally coming to a halt at the sheds in the street, from which the cows, pigs and small children are excluded for this day. The baskets are unpacked, a baby being usually extracted therefrom together with all sorts of fruit and vegetables, and soon each woman is squatting on the ground with a pile of green stuff before her ready for business. Meanwhile the shops are opened by the simple process of removing the front wall, when the wares of the shopkeeper are discovered displayed on a broad low counter within. And now arises a great clamour of barter and contention; the fruit and vegetables are rapidly disposed of, the women, as soon as their stock is sold, joining the throng of buyers. In all transactions salt takes

the place of small money as the medium of barter, that substance being universally in demand, and maintaining a steady value, while Indian copper and Chinese brass coin is quite unobtainable. A little later in the day the men, who take life easier and get up later than the women, begin to arrive—stalwart Chinamen of the large Yunan breed, clad in voluminous coarse blue garments; Shans in the roomiest of trousers, and with enormous white turbans, rakishly cocked; shy, wild Lishaws and Miautsus, hunters every one, in rags; and a few Lahs from the south in practically nothing at all. Each is armed with a sword, and not a few carry firearms also, the latter for show mainly, or to impress the girls, for it is found on examination that infinite persuasion would probably be required to make them go off. The crowd is now dense in the street, and, to add to the excitement, a caravan of fifty or so pack-mules arrives from over the border, the owners of which dump their loads in the very middle of the throng, and invite inspection of their wares—straw hats, felt carpets, copper pots, walnuts, honey, and other notions. After mid-day the women shoulder their lightened baskets, containing now but a piece or so of cloth, some salt, dried fish, and other household requisites, with the baby mounted on top of all, and file off on the return home. The men remain to drink a little, gamble a little, and quarrel a good deal—in fact, to enjoy themselves. The young fellows swagger round the shops and inspect the latest thing in pedlar's goods. Here, indeed, is a wonderful meeting of East and West; spectacles, locks, and little oil-lamps of unmistakable Chinese origin, and the ubiquitous safety matches of Japan lie side by side with cotton from Manchester, tobacco from Bristol, condensed milk from Switzerland, and an infinity of odds and ends of German make, such as glass bangles and pipe mouthpieces coloured to resemble the jade so dear to the heart of every Chinaman, pewter earrings modelled after the silver ornaments worn by the women of Western Yunan, and to be found nowhere

else, and other small articles, paltry enough, but affording evidence of the care with which the wants of the most out-of-the-way people are studied by the German manufacturers. Other shops are devoted to the sale of arms and mule-gear (every well-to-do man in the State owns at least one or two pack-mules), and in others, again, the split dried duck and the toothsome pork beguile the burly peasant into drawing his trusty chopsticks and demolishing frequent bowls of curry and vermicelli at a small cost.

With the fall of evening the market-place empties itself rapidly, the revellers departing in noisy groups in time to be home for the evening meal. Soon the front walls of the shops are replaced, the mule caravan moves off to the camping-ground beyond the village, the sunset gongs sound from the joss-house, supper is eaten, the owners of the closed shops adjourn to some secluded spot to gamble, and, as the moon rises and shines down the erstwhile crowded street, the only living objects she discloses are the pigs routing among accumulations of offal, and the cows pensively chewing abandoned odds and ends of vegetables.

Satzuchiü, the present capital of the State and the place of residence of the Chief, lies in the hills about seven miles from Tawnio. The approach to it is over several high mountains, from the top of one of which it is at length discovered, perched compactly upon a three-topped precipitous hill which rises sheer up in the middle of a narrow valley. One side of the hill affords the only means of access to the town, the others being impassable precipices. Clearly, the position has been chosen as one of strength, for the place, though commanded all round by the neighbouring mountains, could by merely closing the one approach be rendered impregnable to any force not provided with artillery, an arm seldom met with in this part of the world. The town occupies about half of the comparatively level space on the hill-tops, and, in addition to its strong natural position, is further fortified by a ditch and a wooden fence. Between these last is a space of some hundred feet,

which is planted with a species of climbing mimosa of rampant growth, of which the inextricably intertwined branches form, with the thorns which cover them thickly, a barrier twelve feet high by a hundred thick, absolutely impenetrable by man or beast. The two entrances to the town are narrow tunnels through this living fence, closed at the inner end by a strong gate loopholed for musketry. Inside, the houses stand closely packed together, quite safe from all possible attack, and so filling the limited space as to perforce insure that extreme proximity with his pigs and other livestock without which no Chinaman feels really happy and at home. Strange it is that, though the roads all over the State are kept in good condition, yet those inside the town are mere narrow channels of mud a foot or more deep, kept continually moist by the dirty water and offal from the houses, pigsties and stables, and churned into a well-mixed porridge by the passage of the cattle to and from their pasture. Indeed, the traveller may ride all day through the country without so much as soiling his boots, but will receive a goodly plastering with mud while floundering through fifty yards of village street at the end of his march.

Upon the highest point of the hill, and about the middle of the town, stands the house of the Chief, a large brick structure in the orthodox Chinese style, with pagoda roof of heavy tiles, and much grotesque stucco relief work round the eaves. In striking disregard of the amenities, its imposing entrance looks upon a two-foot alley deep in perennial mire, and immediately faced by the mud and wattle wall of a cowhouse. The Chief, or Heng, as he is locally designated, is a remarkably fine specimen of his race: about sixty years of age, some five feet eight inches in height, of an intelligent countenance, and gifted with an acumen which is rare in these parts, he continues, though now nearly blind, to rule his small country with the same wise judgment which has marked his whole career. He has a family of stalwart sons, to whom he entrusts the carrying

out of his orders, his unfortunate affliction preventing him a good deal from travelling, and disinclining him, except on special occasions, to venture outside his house. His chief wife, a lady of thin, forbidding features, is, in spite of her "lily feet," a person of very decided views. She is possessed of surprising energy, and, besides sternly controlling her household of lesser wives, children and servants, all of whom she keeps thoroughly in order, she takes a lively interest in the governing of the State, and contrives to get about a great deal, bestriding a stout hill pony with her deformed feet thrust into a pair of small leather buckets for stirrups. The Heng and his wife, in common with their people, are both smokers of opium, and by far the most comfortable-looking spot in their abode, which is furnished with the uncompromisingly hard, high chairs found in the houses of all well-to-do Chinese, is the divan, with its lamp, pipes, and other paraphernalia neatly set out between two heaps of cushions on which the pair recline and smoke at intervals during the day. The said high chairs, built of heavy blackwood and marble-seated, are, indeed, with the equally rigid tables which match them, little more than so many offerings to the fetish *comme il faut*, the family sitting and eating, from preference, on the floor beside them, and never using them except to accommodate distinguished visitors.

The house of the Heng is quadrangular in shape, having a large square courtyard in the centre from which all the rooms are entered, and into which all the windows look, so that the outside of the house consists, except at the entrance, of blank wall merely. The quarters of the Heng himself and his chief wife face the entrance of the courtyard, those of the men of the household being on their right, and of the women on their left. A long room over the entrance is used as nursery and schoolroom for the children, of whom there is a surprising number. From the windows of this room, which are filled with an intricate lattice without glass, proceeds at intervals during the day a chorus of youthful

voices, which, ringing through the courtyard, announces that education, according to the methods peculiar to the country, is in progress. The English schoolboy is constrained, on pain of a smarting tail, to silence while at work, but here it is an axiom that a silent boy is an idle boy, and hence all lessons are learnt at the highest pitch of the scholar's pipe, the wrath of the master descending upon him whose note is least deafening.

The Heng, when he is well enough to go abroad, does so with due ceremony. Black and crimson banners and a band of gongs and long, squeaky trumpets precede him, while a posse of riflemen and spearmen follow after, making a goodly enough show in the sunlight. Not long ago he made a progress of some sixty miles, to Lashio, the centre of the British administration of the group of Shan States to which Kokang belongs, and was present at a durbar held there by the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma. To encourage his loyalty, an order was then conferred upon him, an honour which impressed him so much that, on his return home, he caused the insignia to be carried in state, banners waving and trumpets skirling, and deposited in the Tawnio joss-house, after which he issued an order calling upon every man in the State to come and make obeisance to the all but sacred gift of the Great Queen.

At a little distance from the Heng's house, on an isolated knoll, stands the only other brick building in the town. This is the magazine of arms and ammunition stored up against the possible time when the militia may have to be armed to defend their country. The magazine is never entered except by the Heng or his sons, and has consequently acquired an aspect of mystery which by no means detracts from the authority of the executive.

The houses of the wealthier citizens are planned after that of the Heng, but have mud instead of brick walls. Those of the poorer class are mere oblong huts of one or two rooms, with pigsties and cow-byres adjoining and covered by the same roof.

All day the men are away, working in the fields or trading among the neighbouring villages, which are scattered all over the State, and from which cotton, opium, flour, honey and other produce is collected to stock the mule caravans which are sent out, at intervals, from the capital in all directions, east and north into Yunan, west into Burma, and south through the Shan States, down even to the borders of Siam. Meanwhile the women attend to their household matters, and the children to the pasturing of the cattle. At sundown the men return, and, after the evening meal and a few whiffs of opium, turn to the delights of gambling, love-making, or music. The thrumming of strings pervades the air, the instrument played being a long, three-stringed banjo of which the people are passionately fond, and on which nearly every man performs. Parties of young men assemble in the moonlight on the level ground outside the town, and, playing in concert airs which are not without charm for the European ear, execute queer dances, bare feet shuffling on the sandy soil, and blue clothes flopping fantastically in admirable rhythm, until, as the night draws on, they drop off one by one, and slink through the silent town to bed or to the cowhouse of a neighbour where love awaits them.

A few years ago the inhabitants of Kokang were plunged into deep despondency by a rumour to the effect that the British Government was about to surrender them to the tender mercies of their hereditary enemies, the Chinese, and this step was, in fact, contemplated at the opening of negotiations for determining the Burmo-Chinese frontier.

Fortunately, however, when the delimitation took place the State of Kokang was definitely included in the British Empire, whereby not only were the anxieties of the inhabitants as to their future existence allayed, but a community equalling in worth all the rest of the northern group of Shan States put together was saved to the Government of India. The railway now being constructed from Mandalay to Kunlon runs right up to the border of Kokang. It is,

therefore, of the utmost importance that the people of Kokang be peaceful, well disposed towards the English, and given every facility for extending their already considerable trade, so that the State, with the railway terminus at its back, may become a centre for the collection of merchandise from the whole of South-western Yunan. Such could never have been the case had the Chinese Government been put in possession, for disturbances must have at once ensued, the terminus would have been surrounded by unsettled country and by inimical Chinese influences instead of by a quiet, friendly people, and trade, far from being encouraged, would have been altogether diverted from that point.

The already advanced condition of Kokang and the industrious disposition of its people point to the probability that, with the development of trade in this part of the world which must follow the rapidly approaching completion of the railway, this little Chinese community, attached by accident to its eastern extremity, and at one time on the point of being abandoned as worthless, will become a bright jewel in the crown of Burma, contrasted with its dingy surroundings of Shans, Kachins, Lahs, and other more or less savage hill tribes, from whom little in the way of advance can ever be expected, whatever advantages may be offered them.

## THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ROAD TO CHINA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

IN the month of April, 1875, the late Archimandrite Palladius sent a remarkable communication to the *Chinese Recorder* of Shanghai calling attention to interesting evidence about early Christians discovered in a Chinese polemical work dated 1291. It will be remembered that Lewis IX. of France sent the monk Rubruquis on a conciliatory mission to the Mongol Court in 1253; and Rubruquis, who reached Mangu Khan's residence at Karakoram on December 27, 1253, has left us an account of the contest of rival religions which took place at intervals between that date and July 10, 1254, when Rubruquis set out on his return. The contest had been going on, and evidently after that still went on for some years; for our Chinese author, cited by Palladius, relates how, in the autumn of 1256, Mangu Khan decided in favour of Buddhism, according inferior rank to Taoism, Christianity, Confucianism, and the Mallas. The words of Mangu Khan referring to Christians are: "The *tieh-sieh*, honouring *Mi-shih-ho*, trust to celestial life."

The learned Archimandrite considers that *tieh-sieh* is a transcription of the word *Tersa*, by which name Mussulmans called Christians. He adds that Chinese Mussulman works have no other name for Christians than *i'eh-êrh-sa*, *Isa* and *Êrh-sa* being the Mussulman and Chinese Mussulman names for "Jesus." Palladius thinks *Tersa* means "followers of Jesus," and is probably a word of Persian origin. He cites Père Ricci (died 1610) in support of this opinion, Ricci having been informed by an Armenian that Armenian Christians in Persia were still called *Terzai*.

The late eminent Russian scientist, Dr. E. Bretschneider, had already, in 1874, contributed to the *Chinese Recorder* an account of a certain Taoist philosopher's forced visit to Genghiz Khan at Samarcand in 1221. Arriving as he proceeded at a place practically the same as

the town of Yugur, or Bukur, on the Harashar-Kashgar road, the Chinese philosopher has left it on record that he was welcomed outside the town by the chief of the *tieh-sieh*. Dr. Bretschneider, on the authority of some notes already published by Palladius in Russia during the year 1872, observed that the Persians from Sassanide times (say, from 400) had made use of the word *Tersa* to designate Christians.

According to d'Herbelot, who is cited by the late Gabriel Devéria (*Journal Asiatique*, 1896), *Tersa*, or "ascetic," is the opposite of *Parsa*, or "devout"; but whatever its exact meaning and derivation, it seems to be a fact quite accepted by all the authorities quoted that, when Kublai Khan moved the Mongol throne from the desert to modern Peking, the use of this particular word to signify "Christians" quite disappeared in favour of another and totally different appellation, which it is unnecessary for present purposes to discuss here.

It will be remembered that in the account of the Nestorian stone, published in the *Dublin Review* for October, 1902, mention is made not only of *Mi-shi-ho*, or the Messiah, but also of the word *tah-so*, which appears in the text of the inscription in connection with a Nestorian priest. In the *T'oung-pao* of December, 1895, M. Schlegel of Leyden first suggested the identity of this word with the Persian *Tersa*. That by these two syllables the Chinese intended the sound *tar-sa* is plain from such translated Sanskrit and Turkish words as *dhar-ma*, *tar-khan*, *sa-ma*, *sa-la*, etc., which, at the same date, the Chinese endeavour to reproduce with exactly the same characters used as phonetics. Moreover I have, with the kind assistance of Mr. J. D. Rees and Professor Hope Hogg, endeavoured to ascertain what eminent Persian and Semitic scholars have still to say about the word. One of the former writes: "As to modern Persian *tarsā*, Pahlavi *tarsāk*, meaning 'Christian,' I have always supposed it to be an adjective, formed from *tarsādan*, 'to fear.' . . . Syriac was the

language of the Christians with whom the Persians were brought into contact." On the other hand, a Semitic authority writes : " I can't think of any Semitic explanation of *tarsāk*."

A third suggestion is that, as the Arabs before Islam called the Christian monks *rāhib*, or "fearers (of God)," the Pehlevi speakers may have used the word *tarsāk* in imitation of the Arab *rāhib*, and in the same sense. One esteemed Persian authority tells me that *tarsā* is also used to denote Lamaists—*i.e.*, Buddhists.

There is a passage in the Chinese "Northern History," and another in the "History of the Sui Dynasty," both referring to the manners of the petty Samarcand states just about the time (560-600) when they were placed under Turkish influence, after the West Turks had driven out Ephthalite political influence from the Oxus, and established the centre of their own empire at a city to the west of Issik-kul, north-east of Tashkend.

The following passages touching the State of Ts'ao, a little north-west of Samarcand, cannot refer to a later period than 618, and probably are the outcome of the Chinese mission to Persia a few years previous to that date : "In this state there is a *Tēh-sih* deity ; the various states eastward from the West Sea all venerate and serve it." Then follows a not very intelligible account of a huge metal statue, and of a periodical sacrifice of animals for public feasts in connection with this worship.

The Annals of the T'ang Dynasty, which began to reign in 618, in discussing the group of petty states round Samarcand, manifestly speaks of a period only later than the above by a few years. They say : "West Ts'ao is the Ts'ao State of the Sui Dynasty ; its place of rule is at Sēh-ti-hên city. North-east, at Yüeh-yü-ti city, there is a temple of the *Tēh-sih* deity, whom the people of the state worship." It is difficult to see to what this *Tēh-sih* can refer if not to the faith of *Tersa*—*i.e.*, to Christianity. So far I have not been able to identify the two cities mentioned.

The allusions in Chinese history to the worship of the spirit, or deity, of heaven are very numerous, but there seems to be no one instance where such worship can be clearly, or even presumably, connected with Christianity. The various nomadic Tartar tribes, from 200 B.C. to 600 A.D., are constantly said to have engaged in this worship. Subsequently to the latter date the same thing is said of the Nepaulese (then first discovered by China, and called Ni-p'o-lo), and of the Arabs (called Tazik), with the later addition that about 714 the Arab envoys declined to kneel to the Chinese Emperor on the ground that they never knelt to any mortal; only to the spirit of heaven. Kao-ch'ang and Yen-k'i, two states corresponding to modern Turfan and Harashar, are repeatedly said to have worshipped Buddha concurrently with the spirit of heaven; which, indeed, is what we might expect of states always more or less under Tartar suzerainty, but both on the Buddhist highroad from India and Cabul to China. Persia and Hwah (a doubtful Ephthalite State, possibly Ghur) adjoining Persia, worshipped both the spirit of fire and the spirit of heaven; and Ts'ao (not the above Ts'ao, but a state written with a different character, and corresponding to Cabul) worshipped the spirit of heaven with great show of splendour. In these last three cases, referable to the period 450-600, it is certainly possible that some form of Christianity or Manicheism may be meant, for the period in question embraces the great persecutions of Christians and Mazdakians by the kings of Persia.

One or two countries are said to be worshippers of both Buddha and the *hien* spirit; this is said of Samarcand and of Khoten, in both cases having apparent reference to a period slightly subsequent to 600 A.D. Owing to the Persian fire-worship being sometimes called "fire *hien* spirit," or "fire *hien*," it seems possible that the worship of *hien* (which appears to be simply a newly-invented form of "heaven" dedicated solely to Tartar uses) has occasionally been confused by both Chinese and European savants with

the worship of fire. It is supposed by some European translators that the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Chwang, who visited the Western Turk Khan in the Issik-kul Tashkend region about the year 631, found fire-worship to exist even amongst the Turks; but I suspect the real meaning is not "fire spirit," but "*hien* spirit," and I am very sceptical about the true Turks having ever worshipped in the Zoroastrian way at any date. It is well known that the Ouigour Turks patronized Manicheism both in Tartary and numerous Chinese cities where they traded or settled.

The Chinese annals record that Yezdigerd (the last of the Sassanide kings) perished at the hands of the conquering Arabs (at Merv) on his way to Tokhara. His son Piruz succeeded in escaping to the Turkish *jabgug* then ruling in Tokhara, and, with the friendly assistance of this prince, succeeded in making his way to the Chinese Emperor. In 671, we are told on other Chinese authority, Piruz obtained the Emperor's permission to erect a "Persian temple" at the capital (modern Si-an Fu). As this temple was subsequently removed for private and personal reasons to a spot near the *hien* temple, and as we know well that Nestorians and Manicheans both also possessed temples there at the time, it is reasonable to assume that Piruz constructed a Fire Temple, which was subsequently moved to near the Tartar temple, and that all four religions existed amicably together; the fourth religion being the ancient undefined "worship of heaven."

I may add one other observation. The Nestorian priests were by the Chinese called "great virtue bonzes"; but the Chinese official histories tell us that in the year 731 the King of Central India sent one of these personages on a mission to the Chinese Court; and it clearly appears that since Hsüan Chwang's visit to Central India in or about 640 China had opened up direct land communications with it by way of Nepaul. It is therefore just possible that the Syrian priests of Malabar may have occasionally found their way to China overland.

## THE WESTERN BRANCH OF THE EARLY TURKS.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE Arabs from the confines of the Sahara, and the Turks from the ends of the Gobi—these two started at almost the same moment upon a wild career of conquest, which ultimately brought them face to face over the carcase of degenerate Persia. The Chinese annals (supplemented, however, to a limited extent by the recently-discovered and deciphered Turkish inscriptions found in the valleys of the Orchon and the Yenisei rivers) are absolutely the sole authority for the origin of the Eastern or Northern Turks; but from the time of the Turkish schism in 581 A.D., and the founding at that date of a separate Empire of the Western Turks, the Chinese annals take a secondary place so far as the latter are concerned, or at best furnish an authority of not more than equal rank with the Arabic and Persian narratives, upon events affecting parts where the rivers flow north or west instead of east.

In the year 400 A.D., there were two military adventurers in possession of what Marco Polo calls Sacchion, Succur, and Campichion—*i.e.*, Sha Chou, Suh Chou, and Kan Chou, in modern Kan Suh. One was a Hiung-nu Prince; the other a Chinese named Li Hao, ancestor of the great T'ang dynasty founded at Ch'ang-an (Si-ngan Fu) two centuries later. The Chinese pilgrim Fah Hien was courteously assisted in the objects of his journey by this second personage, as is mentioned in the late Dr. Legge's "Travels of Fâ-hien," this work being an annotated translation of the pilgrim's own book. Amongst the Hiung-nu tribes under the standard of the first-named adventurers was that of Ashino or Asena, and when in 439 the Toba Tartars ruling as Emperors of North China put an end to this independent principedom, the Asena tribe of 500 tents moved a little north among the Kin Shan, or "Golden Mountains" of the Alashan desert, not very far from Campichion (Kan-chou

Fu), preferring for obvious reasons to be the vassals of the nomad Khan of the Jou-jan rather than of the totally unkindred and unsympathetic Chinese Emperor. One of the said mountains was shaped like a helmet, such as we see in the Turkish statues of stone recently discovered in Mongolia, and consequently (according to the Chinese narrative) the Asena tribe got to be known as, and styled themselves, "Helmets" (Türk); for several generations they served their nomad masters, the Jou-jan, as workers in the iron there locally obtainable; and thus they begat and multiplied.

The above information about the Turks is retrospective, for the recorded name first appears in the year 545, and under the following circumstances: North China had just split up into the East and West Toba dynasties, and in that year the military adventurer, who governed in the name of the puppet Western Toba Emperor reigning at Si-ngan Fu, took it into his head to send a political mission to the Turks. Meanwhile the Turkish chief T'u-mên had been assisting his master, the Jou-jan Khan, against some northern tribes, called in Chinese *T'ieh-lêh*, and which we know for a certainty to be the oft-mentioned Töläs of the Turkish inscriptions—*i.e.*, the later Ouigours, then a mere subdivision of the Töläs; and he ventured to ask the Jou-jan Khan for a wife in recognition of his military services. Being haughtily refused this quite customary favour, he turned the above-mentioned North China mission to summary advantage, and obtained in 551 a wife from that quarter; declared war against the Jou-jan Khan, and utterly broke the power of the latter in the year 552. There was considerable political bargaining and manœuvring between the rival nomad Tartars and the rival Tartar (*i.e.*, North China) Emperors; but at last the military adventurer of the Yü-wên family (representing the Western Tobas) and the Turks got the better of the Eastern Tobas and the Jou-jan, the defeated remnants of which ruling race threw themselves upon the mercy of the Western Toba Emperor reigning at Si-ngan Fu. At

the urgent instance of the Turkish Ambassadors there present, the whole of these (except some lads kept in slavery) were basely and cruelly massacred in 555. With the assistance of the victorious Turks, this *maire-du-palais*, Yü-wên T'ai, now prepared the way for his son to found a dynasty of his own, called *Chou* (557), and this *Chou* dynasty soon destroyed its rival Ts'i, successor to the Eastern Tobas (577); but the *Chou* dynasty was itself destroyed in 581 by one of its own Chinese Generals, the Duke of Sui, who, conquering South China in 589, reunited the whole of China in one vast realm under the name of the Sui dynasty (581-618).

The Turkish chief who, since his final defeat of the Supreme Khan of the Jou-jan, had constituted himself Supreme Turk Khan, was now called Mukan, and his accession dates from 553. Up to the year 564-65 his personal presence upon the Chinese frontiers is signalized in connection with fresh marriage negotiations; but, though he is reported to have sent further missions in 567 and 569, nothing more is said about him at all, except that in 572 it is stated he was then succeeded by his brother Tapo. Hence we are justified in supposing that between the extremes of 564 and 572 the Khan may have been individually occupied with Zemarchus and Byzantium in the West. Whether he was or not, it is certain that Mukan's uncle was a Khan of some sort in the Far West at the time when Mukan's father, T'u-mên, as Supreme Khan, was developing an empire in the East. We cannot be sure of more, either in point of date or of event.

It is precisely during the five years' truce (557-562) between the Romans and the Persians that the name Turk first appears on the Oxus. Events must have been very striking to give a brand-new name so wide a currency. It was also somewhere between those years that the Ephthalites were divided up, the Persians taking the territory to the south, the Turks that to the north of the Oxus. The last tribute of the Yip-tat (= Eptal) to China was in

560, "after which" (according to the special history of the Yü-wên or usurping Chou dynasty, 556-81) "they were broken up by the Turks." The Greeks and Persians speak of the Turkish Khan as Silzibulos, or Sinjibu. The first Turk in the West was Shih-tien-mi, or Sê-ti-mi, brother of T'u-mên, and Settimi's son and successor was Tah-t'ou, cousin of Mukan. Dates are uncertain. It is not known whether Mukan in person engaged in the well-known negotiations with Byzantine Rome (568-71), started by the envoy Zemarchus in 568, or whether (which is much more likely) a *Jabgug*, or Prince-Governor, whose rank may possibly be discerned in the syllables *zibul* and *jibu*, represented the Khan. All the Chinese have to say on the subject is that Mukan speedily reduced beneath his sway the whole country between the Liao-tung Gulf and the Western Sea—a term vaguely applied to the Caspian and to all other seas in the West which appear to, or are reported to, bound the limits of the Chinese continent.

Mukan was succeeded in 572 by his brother Tapo, who, in accordance with what seems to have been immemorial nomad custom, at once appointed new Khans for the east and the west parts of his general dominion. It is recorded of Tapo that he allowed himself to be convinced by Buddhist missionaries. He died in 581. Nothing seems to be recorded in Western history of Romano-Persian doings with the Turks during the nine years of Tapo's reign. Chosroës died in 579, and the fact that one of his wives was the Turkish Khan's daughter may possibly account for Mukan having in 564-65 proved faithless to his promise to marry his daughter to the East Toba family. Hormisdas IV., son and successor of Chosroës I., was, it seems, a son of this Turkish Princess, whom the Persians call Fakim. From the Chinese accounts it is easy to see that wife-giving was a fixed policy with the Turks. Samarcand, Kashgar, Kuché, Khoten, Harashar, Turfan, and even China, all received, or were offered, Turkish Princesses.

The three successors of T'u-mên had all been brothers,

nor had the sons of K'o-lo (Kara) (553) and Mukan (553-72) complained when the succession twice went to their respective uncles. But when Tapo's son abdicated, and Kara's was nominated as successor on the ground that Mukan's son, Ta-lo-pien, had been born of a plebeian wife, Ta-lo-pien got restive, and marched off sullenly to his own principality, with only the high secondary title of A-po Khan to console him. Bearing this rank, he took part in the war which his successful rival and cousin waged against the Töläs. Before long, however, his popularity caused jealousies, and he was at war with this cousin—*i.e.*, with the Supreme Khan Shaporo (581-87)—and after several failures had to throw himself for protection into the arms of his uncle, Tah-t'ou, "who *had been* Khan for the West." Tah-t'ou lent him 100,000 troops wherewith to assert his rights, and from this date (581-82) definitively took place the schism between Turks and West Turks.

The Greek authorities\* relate that an attempt on the part of Byzantium to re-engage the assistance of the Turks against Persia was made by the Envoy Valentine in 575. He found Turxanthus (the son of Zilzibul, or Dizabul, who had recently died) one of eight Turkish chiefs, the supreme one of which eight was called Arsilas. Turxanthus sent Valentine on to the Mount "Ektel" to see his relative Tardu; and then, feeling dissatisfied with Roman assurances, he despatched one "Bochan" to co-operate with a female ruler of a Scythian province east of Kherson, and to threaten the city of Bosphorus. Turxanthus at the same time boasted to the Greeks of his supremacy over the Avars, the Alans, and the Utigurs of the Caspian region. Thus runs the Greek account.

Almost every line of this narrative is confirmed more or less directly by the Chinese records. Dizabul (Mukan) died in 572, and only one son of his is ever mentioned (Ta-lo-pien = "The Fat"). As to Turxanthus, the rank of *Tah-kan* occurs scores of times in the Chinese narratives,

\* See *Historical Review*, July, 1896.

and the word *Tarkhan* occurs equally often in the Turkish inscriptions, which also mention the *Apa-tarkhan*; on the other hand, the Chinese tell that the *A-po* was the second highest official rank. There is no reason why Ta-lo-pien, son of Mukan, should not have been a *Tarkhan* under his "uncle" Tah-t'ou during the reigns of Mukan and Tapo. We know how in later Mongol times the Princes travelled immense distances to elections and *kuriltai*. Most of the Turkish Khans have personal as well as titular names: thus, T'u-mên, the Ili Khan; Kara, the Isiki Khan: it so happens that Tapo is never once otherwise called; but Arslan, or "Lion," is not an unlikely name for him to have had. The word *Ektel* evidently stands for *Ak-tagh*, or "White Mountain," and the corresponding Chinese word Pêh-shan applies to the range between and north of Harashar and Hami, which was then all Töläs country. *Tah-t'ou* is not only *Tardu* on the same grounds that *Tah-kan* is *Tarkhan*, but two Chinese histories actually write *Tah-tu* and *Ta-tu*, in speaking of Western Turk Khans; and Tah-t'ou was in effect and degree equivalent to the uncle of Ta-lo-pien. Finally, the Chinese say that Tah-t'ou (who *had been* Khan for the West), after the schism above described, invaded the East and "constituted himself" the Pu-k'a Khan. Fortunately, there is a precise date for this—namely, 599—which is manifestly inconsistent with any attempt to identify the Pu-k'a of 599 with the Bochan of 575, as I once suggested might be possible. As to the Scythian State ruled by a woman, it may be mentioned, without laying too much stress on the coincidence, that the Chinese in describing the Arab conquests in Persia and Asia, say that "three months' journey to the north-west is the Woman State"—a term, however, also applied, and at the same date, to two Himalayan states of Tibetan type, then each ruled by a gynocracy.

As to the Avars, Alans, and Utigurs, the Avars cannot possibly be the Jou-jan, but may very well be the Yüeh-pan of the Balkash region, a powerful Hiung-nu tribe hostile to

the Jou-jan, and west of which no Jou-jan ever got, and which is *never once heard of* after 450 A.D. For many centuries the Chinese had already recorded the existence of the Alans or Azes of the Caspian region. Their most ancient name (B.C. 100) was An-ts'ai; then (A.D. 100) A-lan-liao; then (A.D. 300) A-lan; and to their west lay Europe (Ta-ts'in), the later Fuh-lin. The position of the Khazar Turks is thrice correctly placed by the Chinese as being "north of Persia," "north of Arab [-conquered Persia], east of Fuh-lin [the Caucasus parts of the Byzantian Empire];" but they have no more to say about them.

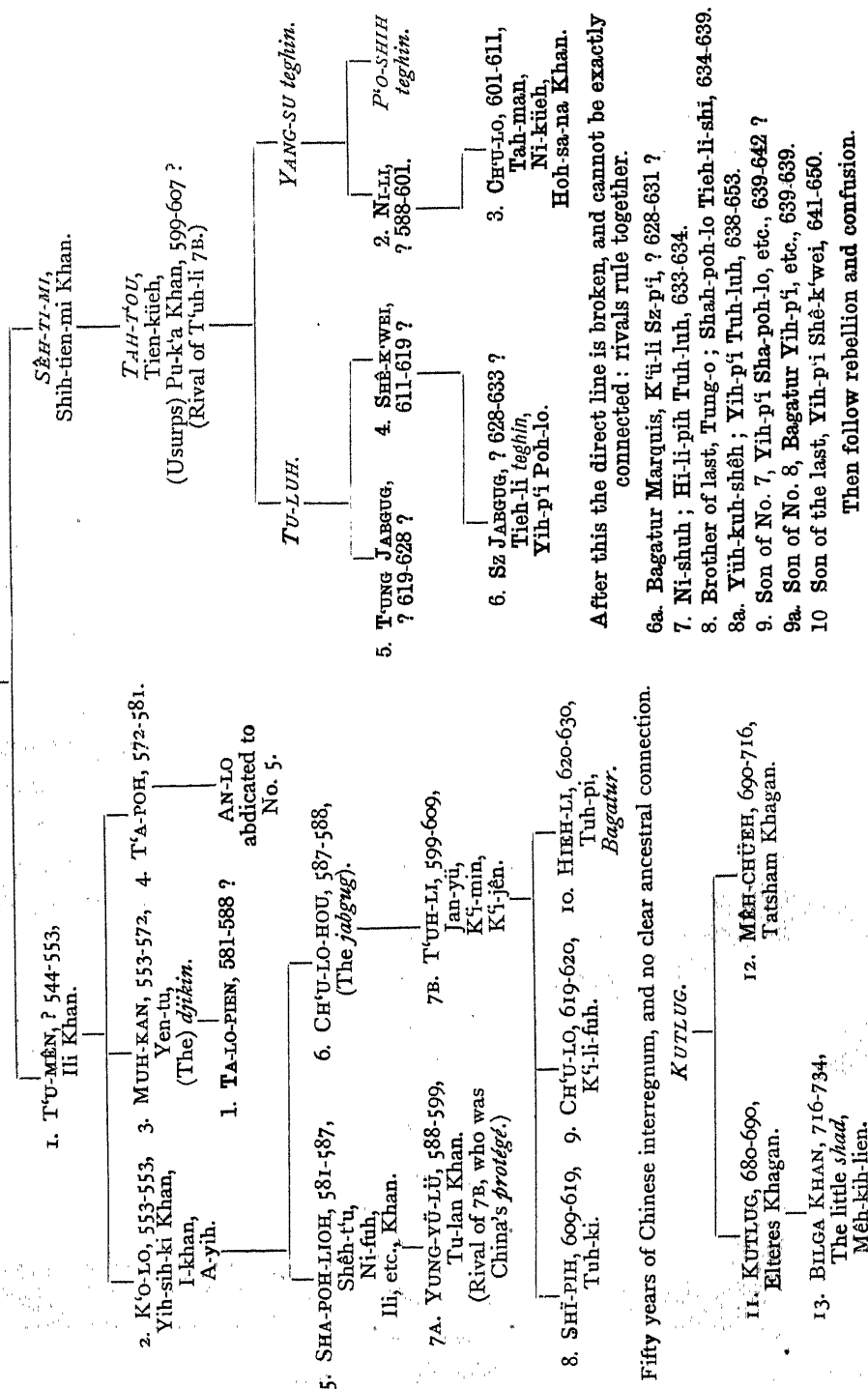
Ta-lo-pien was taken prisoner during the wars with his Eastern cousin, and (as his uncle Tah-t'ou never seems to have claimed Western independence) he must therefore be considered to be, what the Chinese repeatedly state him to be, the true founder of the Western Empire. Nothing is known or recorded by the Chinese of Tah-t'ou's doings in the West at any date; but he is mentioned as living at least up to 607; and, indeed, ever since his claim to be an independent Khan *in the East*, in 599, he is found warring on the Chinese frontier. At a date not specified, but certainly previous to 617, it is stated that the King of K'ang (Samarcand region), who bore the hereditary designation of *Fu-pih*, and lived in a city (unidentified) named A-lu-têh, on the Sah-pao River (unidentified), was married to the West Turk Khan Tah-tu's daughter. There were other and later Western Turks called Tah-tu and Ta-tu; but even if in spite of this we assumed Tah-t'ou to be here meant, unfortunately one of the histories says that it was Jabgu Khan's daughter who, anterior to 617, married the King of Samarcand; and the very earliest we can assign to the beginning of Jabgu Khan's reign is 618. It is stated by Western authors that during the wars between the Turks and Persians (previous to 589) the "Grand Khan" was slain, which cannot be true of Tah-t'ou. Ta-lo-pien was captured in China about 588, and his Western successor and nephew, Nili (? 588-601), takes no part in Chinese

history. Nili, therefore, may have been slain. The Western statement that the Persian General Bahram took refuge with the Turks in 592 is more to the purpose. The Chinese know nothing of it. In the year 605 the Chinese say the West Turks killed the King of Shih (Tashkend), and placed a *teghin* (nobleman) of their own in charge ; but one of the two histories which record this fact puts the conquest of Tashkend down to a grandson of Tah-t'ou, named Shêh-k'wei (611-19 ?) ; whilst, to add to the confusion, Tah-t'ou's nephew, Nili Khan, and Nili's son Taman (601-11), are said to have reigned as Khans of the West before Shêh-k'wei's turn came at all ; and no explanation is given of the fact that Tah-t'ou's son Tu-luh, father of Shêh-k'wei, does not figure as a reigning Khan. Taman is also known as the Ch'u-lo Khan, and he seems to have flitted about between the Ili River and the Chu River, which latter emanates from Issik-kul. In 608 the Chinese Emperor sent a friendly mission to Ch'u-lo, who despatched some thorough-bred horses as a compliment ; on the other hand, the *teghin* who had been placed by Shêh-k'wei in charge of Tashkend sent presents to China in 609 ; so that it is hopeless, at least at present, to solve the puzzle of successions quite clearly.

So far from ever having been able to assert their permanent influence in the Tarim Valley, Yarkand River, or Lob Nor region, neither the Turks nor the West Turks succeeded in doing more than fitfully contest Chinese predominancy in what we now call Kashgar, Khoten, Kuché, Harashar, and Turfan ; the Kings of nearly all these States are mentioned as marrying Turkish wives ; and, indeed, it seems that the Kings themselves were often Turkish Princes. Unlike the Eastern or Northern Turks, the Western Turks never in the least endangered the safety of China proper. In 615 the restless Sui Emperor Yang Ti (605-17) succeeded, by baiting their merchants with offers, in inducing quite a number of Western States, including those of the Tarim Valley, and even a few from the Tokhara and Oxus

region, to send missions to China; he was also desperately anxious to communicate with Fuh-lin (Roman Empire) and India, of which places he had heard solely through the Turks and Turfan; but his envoys never got farther west or south than Persia. As evidence of what Fuh-lin meant, and as further evidence of what the Western or European Sea meant, I may add that it was explained to him by the well-known author on the Western Regions, P'ei Kū, that there were three roads to the Western Sea: the northern road *viâ* the West Turks and Fuh-lin; the central road *viâ* Persia; and the southern road by the North Brahman country (the Indus). This is quite incompatible with Dr. Hirth's theory that Fuh-lin stands for "Bethlehem," and refers specially to Syria.

I give here a tabulated and numbered list of Turkish Khagans, the eastern being printed in a quite different type from the western. Apart from these two groups, where a Turkish Prince in the line of descent is named, I give his name in italics to show that he never reigned as Supreme Khan. It is not always possible to ascertain the exact date of any Khagan's decease, dethronement, or accession, and therefore a note of interrogation, standing either to the right or left, marks the particular date (right, left, or both) which is doubtful. It is only possible on Chinese authority to even approximately "place" events which Western (Persian, Arabic, Greek) authors record, and which involve any action of the Turks, by keeping this list constantly before the eye. The Western Turk Empire never for one instance reached the Yellow River or the east of Hami. Except that Western Turks—and even Eastern Turks—intermarried with the T'u-kuh-hun—an emigrant Tungusic race (allied to the Tobas) then newly in possession of the old Shen-shen kingdom between Kokonor and Lob Nor—the Turks had no influence, south of those waters, along the Khoten road. It may here be incidentally mentioned that the T'u-kuh-hun ruler had made use of the title *Khagan* not only before the Turks, but also before the Jou-jan, which

$T^{\dagger}U-WU.$ 

latter employed before the Turks many titles we now consider Turkish. It is perfectly clear from the Chinese records that the whole Ephthalite Empire, including in that name all but the extreme south of Indô-Scythia proper, and also the kindred and allied kingdoms of the Oxus and Jaxartes, was continuously under West Turkish domination. Merv and the Hindu Koosh were the western and southern limits of direct domination, or of Turkish government through such officials as *tudun*, *teshrifatji*, *jägin*, *teghin*, or *jabgug*, all of which are freely mentioned in the Chinese records, and identifiable (three at least with absolute certainty) by the aid of the recently-discovered Turkish inscriptions. Persia and the Kabul region were menaced, and occasionally influenced, but never brought under sway. Babylonia, Assyria, Armenia, Beloochistan, and the Punjaub, were all totally beyond the Turkish sphere of influence. If the Alans, Khazars, and (not ever mentioned by the Chinese) the Utigurs, were under West Turk domination, the Chinese know nothing of it ; nor do the Chinese know of the Turkish relations with Byzantium. Their influence in the direction of Dardistan, Balti, and Kashmir, never went beyond Sarikol and Tashkurgan—*i.e.*, beyond the tract of mountainous country lying to the south-west of the highroad between Khoten, Yarkand, and Kashgar. The most persistently West Turkish places were on the highroad between Kurkara Usu, Kuldja, and Merv—*i.e.*, Iliisk, Aulié-ata, Tashkend, Bing-gyul, Khojend, Bokhara, Merv, Balkh, Talekhan, the Iron Gate, Badakhshan, Wakhan, Shignan, etc.

Hardly any Western Khan (581-659) reigned at any time without either seeking or receiving investiture from China. The pilgrim Hsuan Chwang in 630 found Jabgu or Jabgug Khan rather Persianized in his Court, but probably he simply took over all the Ephthalite ways which he found profitable. Whatever influence the West Turks may have had on the Roman or Persian frontiers, it is certain that they regarded the frontier of China as their old home, and the T'ang dynasty as the greatest power in the known world.

Moreover, though usually at war with the Eastern Turks, the Western Turks always in a way recognised the *souche*, and the consequent precedence of the Eastern Turks. Both were first of all Ashīno, just as modern Turks are first of all Osmanlı. All Eastern and Western Khans were of pure Ashīno stock, just as all modern Persian monarchs sign themselves "Kadjar" as being their ultimate name. The word "Ashīno" never once appears in the Turkish inscriptions, and was therefore probably tabu. On the other hand, the word "Türk," which was at best a sobriquet given to the Ashīno clan, is throughout used with affectionate reiteration. In giving the names of the Khans, I add all the Chinese-rendered names by which they were at any time known, before, during, or after their respective reigns. Also the names, if any, by which they were known to the Turks themselves, according to the inscriptions. There is absolutely only one case where both Chinese and Turks use the same name for a given Khan, and that is in the case of Bilga Khan, who reigned from 716 to 734; but *Bilga*, "the Knowing," seems to have been an appendage or part of many Khans'—and even Khatuns'—names, like "Cæsar" amongst the Roman rulers; or like *Semper Augustus*.

From first to last the Western Turks, apart from occasional Courts and "ordos," had two main capitals: one was north of Kuché, at a spot nearly corresponding with modern Urumtsi; the other north of Tashkend, at a centre almost identical with modern Aulié-ata, on the Taras River. The rich meadow-lands to the north-west of this last district—the Bing-gyul, or Thousand Springs—were the chief hunting preserve and army training-ground of the Western Khans. From 581, when the schism began, the successful policy of the Chinese was to intrigue and ally themselves with the Western Turks, in order (to use their own expression) to "have the leg pulled" of the Eastern Turks, whilst the Chinese "got them by the horns." The power of the Eastern Turks was utterly broken in 630, and for fifty years

East "Turkey" was indirectly governed by China. The West Turks now seized the opportunity to secure some Eastern Turk pickings; but the Chinese played their cards so well that, in 657, they at last succeeded, of course with the assistance of Ouigour and other quasi-Turk allies, in carrying their victorious arms right up to the city of Tashkend. After that (661) the whole of the Western Turk Empire (including nominally even Persia and Kabul, neither of which had ever formed part of it) was divided into imaginary Chinese provinces, mostly under the purely native rule of the original chiefs, as "proconsuls" and "governors." Between 657 and about 700 two "Restoration" and "Resurrection" Khans, ruling under Chinese auspices, were created and placed in charge of the eastern and western divisions of the old Western Turk Empire; these Khans were dissatisfied Ashīno Turks who had assisted the Chinese to conquer their own kinsmen, and had accepted rank as Chinese Generals. These divided khanships, which seem to have accepted one of the Jaxartes tributaries as their dividing-line, passed from father to son for several generations; but practically the Ashīno brood in the Far West came to an end in 706, when an allied race called Türgäsh forged ahead, prevented the mediatized Ashīno Princes from resuming the government of their khanates, and re-established a new Turk (*i.e.*, Türgäsh) power over the old Ephthalite region. The Chinese never style either the Ouigours or the Türgäsh as "Turks." But meanwhile the Eastern Turkish Empire had found a new lease of life under Tatsham or Kutlug (689-90); Elteres or Mëh-chüeh, his brother (690-716); and Bilga or Mëh-kih-lien, Kutlug's son (716-34). Throughout these three reigns Kül *teghin*, brother of Bilga, and Tunyukuk, father-in-law of Bilga, by their wise statesmanship and military talent, practically kept the new empire alive. The chief inscriptions discovered are precisely those in glorification of these three last personages, whose names appear in Chinese as P'i-k'a, K'üeh t'êh-k'in, and T'un-yuh-kuh. After about

740 the East Turks and West Turks were both swallowed up by the Ouigours, who, however, never seem to have exercised influence in the Far West. The Chinese proper soon afterwards lost nearly all interest in High Asia, and such little as remained concerned the Kitans, Nûchêns, and Mongols, ruling north of the Yellow River, rather than the unmasculine Sung dynasty of Central and South China (960-1260). The threads were not seriously taken up again until the Mongol Genghiz Khan and his lieutenants, following exactly in the steps of the Turks, swept over the same ground, *plus* the Kirghiz steppes, Russia, Persia, Asia Minor, and Afghanistan, thereby solving the mystery of the "Western Sea."

NOTE.—The *China Review*, previous to its decease, printed part of Mr. Parker's literal translation of Turkish history, with 500 notes. The remainder, including the Western Turks, with 800 more notes, we hope will yet be published.—ED.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Tuesday, July 14, 1903, a paper was read by Romesh Dutt, Esq., C.I.E., on "The Peasant Proprietors of India." The Right Hon. Leonard Courtney, P.C., in the chair. The following, among others, were present : Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., Sir Alfred Lyall, G.C.I.E., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Sir Henry Cotton, Sir Edward Walker, Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Dr. Pollen, C.I.E., Dr. Bhaba, Colonel W. R. M. Holroyd, Colonel A. T. Frazer, Mr. Robert Sewell, M.R.A.S., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. Spirati, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Miss M. Nicholson, Miss Campbell, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Misses Delaney, Mr. and Mrs. Sebright Green, Mr. T. G. Nair, Munshi Narain Mussaldan, Mr. Robinson Souttar, Mr. G. S. Misra, Mr. T. R. Fernandez, Mr. G. S. Sharma, Mr. J. M. Parkish, Raizada Hansraj, Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Mr. N. D. Daru, Dr. W. P. Ames, Mr. L. K. Dave, Mrs. S. Bedford, Mrs. McKay, Mr. Newton Dutt, Mrs. and Misses Dutt, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. O. Donnell, Mr. Shaw, Mr. G. D. Madjaekar, Mr. J. D. Zal, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Miss Pratt, Mr. J. P. Varma, Mr. W. F. Peper, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Hidayet Hosain, Mr. J. H. Magee, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasant duty to introduce to you Mr. Romesh Dutt, who will read us a paper on "The Peasant Proprietors of India." I need not tell this audience how important the subject of Peasant Proprietorship is in every country. It has been brought home to us in a much nearer territory than that of India within a very recent date ; but in India, above all countries, it is of supreme importance, because there the bulk of the population consists of peasant proprietors and the families and dependents of peasant proprietors, and the study of their position and the means of promoting their well-being may be described as the primary work of Indian government. It is one of the most difficult subjects to be taken up. In spite of all experience it cannot be said that we have obtained a view which commends itself at all times to all—I mean as to the best means of dealing with this problem. The conditions of Settlement of the peasant proprietors have been varied from time to time, and the theories which animated the Indian Government a generation ago are certainly laid aside now by a large number of the foremost men of the time as being quite inapplicable to the circumstances of India. The best of us therefore, I think, may enter with some trembling and some feeling of uncertainty and doubt as to the way of dealing with the question of the Settlement of the Peasant Proprietors of this great Dependency. Mr. Dutt comes before us with special recommendations to attention in connection with this subject. In the first place, he is himself a son of the East. The best of us Westerners must know that it is a strange matter to have to deal with, to undertake the government of 300 millions,

aliens to us in race, in blood, in manners, and in religion ; and to associate with us in that work natives of the great Peninsula itself has been the aim of the best of men in our own Government for some time past. Mr. Romesh Dutt is an Indian by birth, but he early showed an aptitude for acquiring a knowledge of the West, because he came here very soon after the competition for the appointments in the Indian Civil Service were instituted, and went in as a competitor, and came out very high in the list of successful candidates, since which he has pursued his career in the Civil Service in India with great credit to himself and excellent consequences to the Government, and now occupies the most honourable position of a retired civilian. In connection with this, I feel it may be mentioned as a matter of excuse, perhaps, for my being here to-night that my first connection with Mr. Dutt, though it was at the time to me an absolutely unknown connection, was in relation to that special examination the result of which was placing him high in the list of successful candidates. It happened that year that I was one of the examiners, and so I claim a part of the felicity of having put Mr. Dutt amongst those who were successful. Some dozen or more years afterwards, when I made a winter tour in India, I met a good many who had gone through that examination, and I am bound to say they regarded me with somewhat different feelings. Those who had gone in and been successful were extremely civil (laughter), but those who had gone in and failed, as some of them had on the first occasion, and had succeeded later, tolerated one who had not been prompt to recognise the ability which got afterwards its proper position. But it was very queer to meet in high positions, right and left, those who came forward to tell me, because I was quite unconscious of it, that they had passed through the mill under my vision. Mr. Dutt was, as I say, one of the successful ones, and he has, I think, testified to the excellence of the system which has made it possible for native Indians to come here and be successful in the competition by the excellent work he has done as a Civil Servant in the subsequent part of his life. I will not detain you now any longer, but call upon Mr. Dutt to read his paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : I shall be glad to hear any observations on the very valuable and stimulating paper which Mr. Dutt has read to us. It contains a very grave review even of the present administration. I think the gist of his concluding remarks is an impeachment of the State that in relation to those tenancies where it would be regarded as the landlord itself it does not observe the same limitations or obey the same principles as are imposed on the zemindar in reference to his subtenants. I have no doubt we have amongst us some who have been actually engaged in Settlement work—some Settlement Officers, and others who have been engaged in other portions of the administration of the Government of India—and I shall be very glad to have any observations from any of them on the subject of the paper just read.

MR. J. D. REES thought that the assumption of Mr. Dutt that the ryotwari tenant in Southern India was less well off than the zemindari tenant in Bengal was not justified. He did not think that the ryots of the

south were calling out for succour from the Government. To those who knew the history of assessments in India, it was absurd to say that the assessments were much higher than they had been, and he could not think how Mr. Dutt's conscientious Revenue Officer could be a party to recommending the levy of such rates as the ryots could not afford to pay. Mr. Dutt had made much of the experience of Gujarat in the recent famine. No doubt the assessment there was a high one, but it was a fact that where the assessment was highest there the ryot was best off. (Mr. Dutt dissented.) Were not the payers of high richer than payers of low income tax? The rich cultivators of Gujarat had never known famine, and when it came they did not go to the relief works and avail themselves of the Famine Prevention Code, of which they knew nothing, but elsewhere; the poorer cultivators who saw famine coming went at once upon relief, and did not suffer so much. Was it not rather an odd thing that the protected Native States suffered from famine more than British districts? Mr. Dutt referred to a tax of 50 per cent. on the profits of cultivation being a high one, but it must be remembered that taking the gross produce at 100, and deducting 50 for expenses of cultivation and 25 for vicissitudes of seasons, and dividing the remainder by 2, it was not so high a tax as appeared, but worked out to about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the gross; and it was well known that the present assessments on an average throughout the country were about half of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., or about 7 per cent. of the gross. No one attempted to palliate the condition of affairs in Madras in the early part of the eighteenth century, when assessments formerly nominal were taken as realizable rents, but from that time the assessments had been progressively reduced, until at the present time they could not be considered excessive. Lord Curzon had shown how Mr. Dutt's proposal would largely increase existing assessments, but the whole case was served up again as if it had not been very completely answered already. Mr. Dutt referred to the very large increase in assessments, up to 199 per cent. That was in respect of fields or villages which had escaped assessment altogether before. The percentage test was of no avail, unless struck over an enormous area. The cultivators were not dissatisfied, the landlords in some cases were, and he was bound to say the assessment agitation proceeded rather from the latter than from the former interest.

MR. SEWELL desired that the question of the state of the people of India should be looked at from an historical point of view: What was the former condition of the people, and what was it at the present time? Mr. Dutt complained of the high assessments at first imposed under British administration, but he did not deny that they had been lowered very considerably. The old Hindu and Muhammadan rulers had conducted the government of the country on the principle of getting every penny they possibly could out of the ryots, and the reason why rates were high in early British days was because they had been excessively high under native administrations. The history of British assessments had been a history of perpetual reductions. The village community system was, no doubt, a splendid system as long as it was well worked; but it was a dangerous system, because when worked unjustly, as was so often the

case, the ryots suffered severely. It was to save the people from the rapacity of the village officers that the ryotwari system was introduced, so that every ryot should have absolute security. What security could be greater? He could not be turned out so long as he paid his rent, and he had his written *puttah* telling him exactly the amount due. In this respect his position compared favourably with that of many English tenants. He could not see that the old system was better than the present system, and he could not agree with the lecturer that the ryots would be benefited by a reintroduction of the village unit system. Sir Seshiah Sâstri's report on the condition of affairs in the Native State of Pudukottah bore eloquent tribute to the miseries often suffered by the ryots at the hands of the village officers when the latter controlled the gathering in of the land revenue.

The CHAIRMAN said he would like to hear from a Settlement Officer an explanation of the principle on which the amount fixed in the assessment paper was settled.

MR. ROMESH DUTT explained: In Madras a calculation was first made of the gross produce of the soil; then a deduction was made for expenses of cultivation. Supposing the total produce of a holding was Rs. 150 a year, the Settlement Officer calculated that it probably cost the cultivator Rs. 50 to grow the crops. There remained Rs. 100 net profit. A little deduction was made for commutation of the selling price, and the Government demanded one-half of what remained. That was the theory. But when it was remembered that the assessment was made over 100,000 holdings in each district, and the Settlement Officer worked through low-paid officials, it would be easily understood that the work was very often guesswork. Where a district had paid, say, £10,000 in the last thirty years and looked flourishing, the idea was suggested that it would bear a 25 per cent. increase, and the low-paid officials worked their figures so as to make the new assessment £12,500. So long as such a system was followed, the people could never prosper; and he suggested that enhancements made by the State should be limited by rules as definite and clear as those which regulated the enhancements made by private landlords.

DR. J. POLLEN, C.I.E., said that in the course of the discussion much had been said about the way they did things in Bengal and Madras, but no one had said anything in defence of poor Bombay. (MR. REES: I did.) Yes, you mentioned it, no doubt, as a place you had passed through. Now, Bombay was entitled to be heard at that meeting. For his own part, Dr. Pollen said he was sufficient of an Irishman to be in sympathy with those who desired to pay no rent at all. It would, no doubt, be a good thing if there was no rent to pay at all, and the ryots of Bombay were sufficiently Irish to devoutly desire this consummation. But both the Irish and the Indian peasants were honest, and quite prepared to pay rent provided they had crops, and of course, as they all knew, under Native Administrations the rent was payable in kind, and took the form of a proportion of the crop. We had adopted this system at first, but gradually "improved" the proportionate payment into a fixed rent-charge. It may be in doing this Settlement Officers had not made due allowance

for a succession of bad seasons when the ryots got no crops at all, but the ultimate Settlement did not rest with the Assessing Officer. The Assistant Collector had his say, and then the Collector, the Commissioner, the members of Council, and sometimes perhaps the Governor himself, before rates were fixed. He (Dr. Pollen) remembered that as an Assistant Collector he used to regard himself as a kind of "tribune of the people," and he always endeavoured to make the voice of the ryot heard; but sometimes Government paid little attention to such small fry as Assistant Collectors, and did not properly appreciate the fact that they really represented the ryots—at least, that ought to be their attitude. A contrast had been drawn between the condition of the ryot or tenant in Bengal and in Madras and Bombay greatly in favour of the former. But he (Dr. Pollen) had served in Bengal in 1874, and his impressions with regard to the tenantry in Bengal somewhat coincided with those of Mr. Rees. He certainly remembered that he thought in those days the unfortunate tenant in Bengal both downtrodden and oppressed and altogether in a very poor condition as compared with his ryotwari brother of Bombay. Perhaps things had changed since then! Mention had been made of Mirasidars. Perhaps it was a pity that these peculiar tenures had not been more closely examined in some parts of Bombay, and it was, no doubt, also to be regretted that in certain parts Settlements were not made with the village community instead of with the individual ryot. But in Khandesh, the district Dr. Pollen knew best, the village communities had been shattered and scattered before our occupation, and there was nothing for it but to settle with the individual ryot. Some of these did not understand the Settlement at first, and Dr. Pollen remembered the people in Sowda telling him about the outbreak in Mansfield's time, and how the indignant ryots nearly murdered the Brahman Mamledar! There would have been no outbreak had the ryots really understood what the Settlement Officers were doing; and Dr. Pollen's experience was that in Khandesh the cultivators never really grumbled about paying the assessment when the crops were good. They paid with marvellous fidelity and regularity. Mr. Dutt had alluded to the outbreak before the Deccan Agricultural Relief Act was passed. But it was notorious that this outbreak arose, not on account of the assessments, but in consequence of the extravagant demands of the money-lenders and our cast-iron "judicial system," which enabled them to squeeze the unfortunate ryots and gain possession of their lands! What the ryot really resented was the wrong done him in depriving him of his ancestral acres. In illustration of this Dr. Pollen quoted the "old Sikh Sardar," who reflects with bitterness on the fact that "the lands that he and his forefathers held have passed from his hands away."

"The land that he and his Fathers for countless years have sown  
He may sow—if he will—as the sowkar's slave, but it's ceased to be his own."

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN desired to draw attention to the practical proposals which had been put before them. They appeared to him very reasonable, and he thought the effect of adopting them would be very

beneficial. Mr. Dutt had not proposed anything revolutionary, only that the same methods by which the tenant was protected from the private landlord should protect him from the public landlord. Mr. Dutt did not propose any new method, but accepted the Government method and standard. It was proposed that the check of the civil court should be applied in both cases. That seemed to him reasonable. The Government appointed the Judges of those courts; why should they be afraid to submit their claims to those Judges? In that way he believed great contentment would be obtained, because the people believed in the justice that was administered by the courts of the Government. In this country the Government aspired to be a model employer. In India the Government should aim at being a model landlord.

MR. MARTIN WOOD would like to remind the meeting of the memorable discussion before this Association on this subject in 1882 or 1883, when Miss Florence Nightingale's paper was read and Sir Bartle Frere was in the chair. The question was not a new one, that being when the Bengal Tenant Right Bill was before the Legislative Council, in the final stage of which the then lecturer of the afternoon had the honour of assisting, while one of our former colleagues, Mr. Herbert Reynolds, brought the saving enactment into form as a statute. The term "peasant proprietors," the Chairman would admit, was not scientifically correct, and many of the terms drawn into Indian Revenue discussions, such as "landlord," "landlord's assets," "economic rent," and so on, were misleading as applied to India; those terms only pertain to the plutocratic land system of England. He was prepared to say that the Bombay land system was the best land system in the world as it was framed. The failure was due to causes extraneous to the system itself, though one fatal defect in it was omission of any check on alienation, but allowing every facility for mortgaging. As to the high re-assessments in 1864-66, the Chairman would remember that these were settled during the high tide of prices consequent on the stoppage of American cotton exports during the war. Later on, when the tide turned, the assessments of Indapur and the rest were greatly modified by the Bombay Government. It had been said that the ryot was willing to pay when he had the money. That was the difficulty. The assessments might be fair enough in themselves, but the cultivator had not the means to pay them, and that was chiefly due to the withdrawal of so much of the annual revenues of India and produce of India out of the country. One difficulty in the matter was the existence of the middleman, the zemindars, tulukdars, malguzars, and sowkars; all these, whose one object is to thrive by the labour of the cultivators, came in between the ryots and the demands of the State. Thus every effort is needed to curtail the persistent usurpations of these unproductive classes.

MR. WAGLE thought that at that stage of discussion he should speak a few words, as he was himself a peasant proprietor whose cause Mr. Dutt was advocating. The lecturer pleaded the cause of the peasant proprietors of Bombay and Madras, and he had a twofold reason to be grateful to Mr. Dutt, as he belonged to both the Presidencies. His district originally belonged to Madras, but lately was taken over by the Bombay Presidency.

in order to make Kārwar the chief seaport in Southern India for European trade. He thought that it would be advisable to bring his audience from generalizations to stern facts by narrating the experiences his family had in trying to establish the rights of the peasant proprietors in Southern India. It was in 1870 when Colonel Anderson, a Survey Officer, came to his district for the first time; but his grandfather, as the spokesman of all his class, gave opposition to the officer on the ground that he had no authority to enhance the assessment on the land held by the peasant proprietors from a long time past. When Colonel Anderson tried stern measures instead of reconciliation, he was boycotted by the people of the district, and thus was forced to return to Bombay. Being fortified with fresh provisions and men, he returned, and acting under the bitterness of humiliation, or, rather, under the pinch of starvation which he was compelled to suffer, he enhanced the rents of the land from 93 to 230 per cent. Then his grandfather, as the representative of all the peasant proprietors of the North Kanara district, went to the civil courts to establish two points, namely, that the Survey Officer had, in the first place, no right to enhance the rents without justification, and secondly, that he had no right to enhance the rents in such enormous proportions. They took a lot of trouble, spent a lot of money, and all they got in return was an elaborate and long judgment from the Bombay High Court comparing the old revenue systems of Todar Mall and Akbar with the present one, and ultimately holding that no civil court or any tribunal in the land had power to revise or investigate into the justice of the actions of the Survey Officer appointed by the Governor of the province. After explaining under what circumstance the enhancements were made, it was absurd that there should not be a single appellate body where they could go for redress as against the high-handedness of an individual appointed by the Governor to survey the lands. There was another point about which much discussion has taken place, namely, about the percentage of taxes paid to the Government out of the produce. Much of that was beside the real issue. In old times, if they paid 20 per cent. of the produce to the Government, they fared much better than what the people did now by paying the same tax. The old people were single taxpayers. As soon as a peasant proprietor paid the land tax, he was free in every way. The forests were free to him to graze his cattle, to collect firewood, and get timber for his house. He could manufacture his own salt. Everything belonged to him free. That tax was inclusive. But now in addition to the land tax he has to pay the cattle tax, the salt tax, and half a dozen other taxes. He is deprived of his right to graze his cattle in the forests free. He has to buy his firewood and timber, and all this must come out of his agricultural income. Besides, in old times he paid his tax in kind, but now as he has to pay it in money, he is compelled to part with a greater portion of his produce than he would have done in olden times. It is in this manner the peasant proprietors of the present day are ground down under the new revenue system. There being no stability in the rate of assessment consequent on the thirty years' revision system, improvements on lands are prevented. There is, besides, no principle distinctly defined on which the rate of assessment

should be based. The result of all this is ruinous. No peasant proprietor is keen in improving his land. They are more and more thrown on the mercy of the village officer; lands are passing from the hands of small proprietors into those of the capitalists, thus endangering the social well-being of the community.

MR. J. D. REES said he had been asked to explain the details of the calculation which the Government generally made. If the produce of a field was 100 gross, they first of all deducted 50 per cent. for the expenses of cultivation, then 25 per cent. for the vicissitudes of seasons—that made 75 per cent. If that were deducted from the 100 it left 25. The ideal standard to be levied throughout the country amounted to about half of that—that is to say, 12½ per cent. But about half of that was what was actually levied, or 7 per cent. of the gross, at the present day by the British Government in Madras, and, generally speaking, in the ryotwari provinces of India.

MR. ROMESH DUTT: What is the authority for saying that half of the produce is considered the cost of cultivation?

MR. J. D. REES: I am quoting what I was told by the secretariat in Calcutta, and what I believe to be the practice in Madras.

SIR HENRY COTTON: Speaking with thirty-five years' experience of the ryotwari provinces of Bengal and of Assam, I never heard that laid down.

MR. J. D. REES believed Madras was a good representative ryotwari province, and the case put was that the ryots therein and in Bombay were far worse off than in Bengal, wherein the zemindari ryots were, it is true, protected pretty effectually against their landlords by our legislation. Similarly, in the Central Provinces the recent rises in assessment, of which so much had been made, were increases in the amounts paid by the landlords, a new lot of landlords practically created of late by the British Government, concurrently with which the cultivators were protected by legislation against any increases of their rents on the part of the said landlords. He did not assert that our systems were perfect, but he could not sit still under misrepresentations and assertions which he believed to be exactly contrary to the true facts.

MR. ROMESH DUTT desired to make a few remarks in reply to his friendly critics. Mr. Rees had expounded the extraordinary theory that the more a man was taxed the better he was.

MR. J. D. REES: I never said so. I said the richer men pay the higher rent.

MR. ROMESH DUTT said, in his thirty years' experience, he had never seen a highly-rented district in a flourishing condition. On the contrary, his experience had always been that where a district was lightly rented, the people were prosperous and resourceful. He had in mind the districts of Eastern Bengal, which were lightly rented and highly prosperous. In 1876 the whole of the crops of one subdivision of that part of Bengal had been destroyed by a great storm wave. He went there believing that he would have to begin relief works at once, but, to his surprise and joy, found that the peasantry relied on their own resources and their savings of previous years, and tided over the difficulty without the necessity of any

large relief operations. Mr. Rees had remarked, in which he entirely agreed, that the population of Native States were as badly off as in British territory, and in some places worse. A few years ago he had gone to one of the Native States in the Bombay Presidency ; he made inquiries of a number of the landlords, who were Hindus, as to what proportion of the total produce of the land was taken as rent, and they gave him figures which came to about one-third or more. He asked them whether they were not aware that the code of Manu laid down that the rent or revenue should be one-sixth, one-eighth, or one-twelfth the produce, according to the fertility of the soil, but that it should never be more than one-sixth. They said : " Yes, we know that, but we follow what is done in British territory." This was the practice in Native States, and if a rule were made saving cultivators in British territory from unjust assessment and unreasonable enhancement, that rule would before long be adopted in most of the Native States. Mr. Sewell had referred to the old rates, which were supposed to be higher than the rates first imposed by Sir Thomas Munroe and others. But the old rates were nominal demands which never were fully realized, and unimpeachable witnesses, like Bishop Heber and General Briggs, had recorded that in none of the older States was so much land revenue ever actually realized as the British Government realized in the first half of the nineteenth century ; and Mr. Martin Wood had pointed out that what was raised in the olden days was spent in the country, but under the British rule an amount almost equal to the entire land revenue passed out of the country year after year. He agreed with much of what Dr. Pollen had said, except when he maintained that the money-lenders were the cause of agricultural poverty. He would ask : Why was it the cultivators of Bengal suffered much less to-day from the oppression of money-lenders than when rents were much higher ? The reason was that they had not to go to the money-lenders so often, and they had sense enough to gradually clear themselves of their liabilities. If they imposed a high land tax, they forced people to go to the money-lenders ; but if the land revenue were lowered, the people of the other provinces of India, who were shrewd and mindful of their own interests, would very soon be almost as free from the hands of the money-lender as the Bengal cultivator was. Sir William Wedderburn had put the whole thing in a few words when he said that the Government should impose upon itself those conditions which they had imposed on private landlords. For forty-four years the endeavour of the Government of India had been to save the cultivators from extortionate demands and unreasonable enhancement by private landlords, and the rules which had been made for landlords should now be applied in the case of the State itself. If prices rose, and if cultivation extended, no doubt the Government ought to get some benefit out of it. But the cultivator should know exactly on what grounds the Government enhanced its revenue, just as he knew on what grounds the landlord could enhance his rent. He also asked that there should be some tribunal, other than those actually assessing and doing Survey work, to whom the cultivator might go and obtain redress in cases of hardship or injustice. No doubt every Assessment Officer did his

best to be as conscientious and conciliatory as he could ; but mistakes were inevitable, and it was not only necessary that justice should be done in every case, but that the people should know that justice was done. In ordinary cases a suit could be brought by any private citizen against the Secretary of State for India and the case heard in a civil court, and it was only on questions of land revenue—a question which affected the welfare of four-fifths of the population of India—that all reference to the civil courts was debarred. In Bombay a cultivator had the temerity to take a case against the Government to the High Court, and got his decree. The result was that the Bombay Government passed an Act in 1876 precluding the High Court and all civil courts from any jurisdiction in any matters referring to land assessment. He agreed with Sir Henry Cotton that half the total produce has never been deducted in Bengal and Assam as the cost of cultivation, and Mr. Rees had made a mistake when he said this was done in Madras ; as a fact, about one-third of the total produce was generally reckoned as the cost of cultivation. He was extremely obliged for the great patience with which his audience had listened to a paper which could not pretend to any attractiveness either in its subject or in its method of treatment. But the subject was one of the greatest importance, for four-fifths of the population of India lived directly or indirectly on agriculture, and to improve the agricultural condition of the country should be the object of all Englishmen. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks to the lecturer for his most interesting paper, and to Mr. Leonard Courtney for having so kindly presided, was put to the meeting, and carried by acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.

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The annual meeting was held on July 14, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair. Among those present were Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., M.P., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Colonel W. R. M. Holroyd, Mr. J. B. Pennington, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

On the proposal of Sir William Wedderburn, seconded by Colonel Holroyd, the report and accounts were adopted. The receipts, including balance at bankers on May 1, 1902, £91 10s. 8d., and a donation of £1,000, amounted to £1,331 os. 11½d. The expenditure amounted to £396 os. 3½d., leaving a balance at the bankers of £281 10s. On deposit, £650. Cash in hand and postage, £3 10s. 8d. Total, £935 os. 8d.

The three retiring members of council—Robert Sewell, Esq., Sir William Rattigan, K.C., M.P., and Sir Charles Roe—were re-elected.

The election of Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., as President for the ensuing year, proposed by the Chairman, and seconded by Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, was carried unanimously. A paper on "The History of Trial by Jury in Bengal, its Defects and Anomalies," proposed to be read by Mr. Durant Beighton, I.C.S., in November, was accepted. A memorial to the Colonial Secretary on the grievances of British Indian settlers in the Transvaal was considered and adopted. A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

THE GRIEVANCES OF BRITISH INDIAN SUBJECTS IN  
SOUTH AFRICA.

The following communication was sent from the East India Association :

3, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER,

*July 27, 1903.*

TO THE RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., SECRETARY OF  
STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

The memorial of the East India Association respectfully sheweth :

That the British Indian settlers in the Transvaal have shown themselves to be law-abiding, industrious, peaceful, and loyal citizens of the Empire.

That a notification has been issued at Pretoria on April 8 last reviving and enforcing the Boer laws of 1885 and 1886, which imposed on British Indian subjects disqualifications and indignities unmerited by their conduct, uncalled for by any public necessity, and incompatible with the free and tolerant principles of British administration.

And that fresh legislation on the subject is now contemplated.

Your memorialists therefore pray that, before this or any legislation is sanctioned or approved imposing disabilities on British Indians in the Transvaal, a full and formal inquiry as to the necessity for such legislation be made by an impartial authority, under the direction of the Colonial Office; that in this inquiry the burden of proof be placed upon those who desire to impose such disabilities; and that, pending this inquiry, the Pretoria notification of April 8 be withdrawn, so as to place all the parties on a fair and equal footing.

We have the honour to remain, your most obedient servants, Lepel Griffin, chairman, M. M. Bhowaggee, A. K. Connell, Lesley C. Probyn, F. Loraine Petre, J. B. Pennington, W. H. Rattigan, C. Roe, Robert Sewell, T. H. Thornton, S. S. Thorburn, members of the Council of the East India Association, C. W. Arathoon, member of Council and Hon. Secretary.

The following reply has been received :

DOWNING STREET,

*August 10, 1903.*

SIR,

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to acknowledge the receipt of your memorial dated July 27, regarding a notice issued by the Transvaal Government with respect to British Indians.

2. I am to inform you that Mr. Chamberlain is in communication with the Secretary of State for India regarding this notice, and to state that meanwhile he regrets that he is unable to adopt the suggestions contained in the memorial.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. BERTRAM COX.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

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### THE BAGHDAD RAILWAY.

ON Friday, April 24, 1903, in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, Albemarle Street, at 4.30 p.m., a paper was read by Mr. T. Gibson Bowles, M.P., on "The Baghdad Railway." In the absence of the President, Sir Alfred Lyall, the chair was taken, on the invitation of the Council, by Mr. Ian Malcolm, M.P. There was a large attendance.

The CHAIRMAN said the press and the public had taken a most anxious interest in this question of the Baghdad Railway; and he thought he might be allowed to say in his presence that Mr. Gibson Bowles had taken no unworthy or insignificant part in shedding light upon the dark secrets of that railway's negotiations. It would be idle to ignore the fact that, since the welcome news, which his honourable friend had extracted from the Prime Minister the previous afternoon, to the effect that His Majesty's Government could take no part or lot in the convention that was submitted to them, the situation had changed. The danger was delayed, but they must all agree that the interest abided.

MR. T. GIBSON BOWLES said: As you, sir, have said, the interest and immediate importance of this matter have been diminished, if not removed, by the recent announcement of Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons. The Government which had entertained and even promoted this singular project has, by a sudden change of front, abandoned it altogether. I was amazed that it should ever have harboured any doubt as to the course which it should take; and it speaks volumes for the character of the German Emperor—the real author of the scheme—that matters should have proceeded as far as they have done. But I come here "to bury Cæsar, not to praise him"; to drive a last nail into the proposal for our participation in the Baghdad Railway scheme. Indeed, the interment of that proposal took place yesterday in the House of Commons; and, consequently, all that is left to us to do is to erect a mound to its memory and to take care that the remains of the railway be not disturbed.

In the presence of this distinguished assembly, it would be becoming in me to make my observations as short as possible; and if, therefore, in this long and tortuous story, so full of cunning, I omit some matters of importance, I hope it may be imputed not to negligence, but to my desire to be brief, and to hear what those present have to say. We are told that it was proposed to make a railway from Constantinople through Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf. It may be asked, why not? We are the carriers of the trade of the world. We live by trade. Every railway that is made in the world is destined, never, indeed, to be a substitute for, but to be a feeder of, the ships of the world; and, consequently, the interests of England are entirely in favour of the multiplication of railways.

If, then, this were a question of constructing a real railway—that is to

say, one intended to carry traffic, men, and goods, and to justify itself by earning a profit on the carriage—I should welcome it as an addition to the means of communication of the world. But it is not such a railway; it is not a railway at all; it was not intended to be a railway; it does not pretend to be one. It is partly a financial transaction, from which we should be the chief sufferers; partly a political conspiracy, of which we should be the chief victims. That is what I propose to show.

I am not prepared to say that nobody would be the gainer from the scheme; those brokers and financial houses that deal in paper bonds and shares and have great commissions on the issue of such paper, would gain. There would be a most enormous political profit to Germany, and a corresponding political loss and danger to ourselves.

Turkey has long been the chosen field for making bogus railways. There are 5,000 kilometres of railway there already, and, except the Smyrna-Aidin Railway, they were all created not to be railways, but to extort money out of the Turkish Empire. Turkey has been the victim of her railways; so that Baron Hirsch made seven and a half millions sterling by manipulating them; but he did not make the railways, he only began the trunk lines, and left them disconnected fragments.

Now, in Asia Minor there are two places held to be suited for the terminus of a railway running eastward. One is Constantinople, the terminus for which would be an almost new place called Haidar Pasha on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, opposite Constantinople. The other, and the greatly superior place, is Smyrna, which is on the Ægean Sea. I need not point out that Smyrna is vastly superior to Constantinople—you reach it in the open sea, without traversing the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus. The Smyrna-Aidin Railway is the only British railway remaining in Turkey, and the only one which has no kilometric guarantee; but, if this scheme is to succeed, it will be either extinguished or merged in the German line, which is already waging a railway war against it, and seeking either to destroy or to capture it.

The German line begins at Haidar Pasha, and goes as far as Konia, where it now ends. It is 1,000 kilometres long. The proposal is to carry it on from Konia over the Taurus into the Mesopotamian Plain, where it would be taken by Mosul and Baghdad to the head of the Persian Gulf. There are three places where it will be possible to reach the Gulf. One is Koweyt; another, a little further to the northward, is Khor Abdullah; and the third, further to the eastward, and within Persian territory, is Khor Musa.

Koweyt is governed by a sheikh, whose independence has been twice recognised by Turkey, and who is now under the protectorate of Great Britain; but the Northern boundary of Koweyt has not been defined. The sheikh makes certain claims to the Khor Abdullah, at the head of which is Um Kasr; but there is no settled boundary; and there is a battalion of Turkish troops at Um Kasr.

The whole project is certainly a fascinating one. No more interesting part of the world can be conceived than the region which embraces Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Assyria, and which was the seat of the empires of

Babylon and Nineveh. But great as these countries once were, richly populated and thriving as Mesopotamia formerly was, it was essentially the creature of its rivers; and just as Egypt depended for its fertility on irrigation by the Nile, so Mesopotamia depended on the Euphrates and Tigris. So long as these rivers were harnessed by a bold and ingenious system of canals to the work of irrigation, the country prospered; but when the harness was broken, when there ensued that tremendous catastrophe, which, before historic times, arose from one or both rivers bursting their bounds, it left Mesopotamia a ruined, dead desert. If there be a method of regenerating that country, it is by resuscitating the old canals and restoring the irrigation. Were that done, Mesopotamia would again blossom like the rose. Till that be done, nothing can avail. Therefore, to my mind, the first thing to be done is to restore its irrigation, and after that to construct the railway.

This proposed railway is of German invention and promotion, and the incidents connected with it are so numerous and so amazing that it is entirely impossible for me to-day to deal with them, or to show their full character; but the scheme is that the whole of the line shall be German, or at any rate under German control, and that all the profit shall go into German pockets or towards German policy. I have said that this is not a real railway. That is admitted, for it is admitted that under no circumstances could the railway support itself. It is estimated that existing Turkish railways have cost £7,500 per kilometre. This railway would run through a very difficult country, and it is a moderate estimate to suppose that it would cost £8,000 per kilometre. If that be so, and taking the whole distance at 2,800 kilometres, the entire cost of the railway would be £22,400,000; but we have further information with regard to this. Under the Convention which was published recently in the *Times* newspaper, it is provided (Article 35) that the Ottoman Government shall issue a loan at 4 per cent. (with a fraction over for sinking fund) for the construction of the railway. Now, for the first section of 200 kilometres from Konia to Eregli—the easier part of the line before the difficulties of the Taurus are reached—it is stated that bonds are to be issued for a nominal value of 54,000,000 francs; 200 kilometres is only a fourteenth part of the whole railway; so if you multiply that sum by fourteen, you arrive at a total of £30,200,000, the interest on which would be about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  millions.

What would be earned by the railway? Professor Rohrbach, a German, who views the railway with optimism, estimates that its total earnings would be £448,000 a year; but, as we have seen, that will not suffice. How, then, is the railway to live? It is to live on the Turkish Government and people, on the British merchant, and on the subsidies from the British Packet Service. The railway is to earn roughly half a million at most; the Turkish Government is to provide for it a million and a quarter at least. But the Turkish Government, as everybody knows, does not know where to look for a piastre. The proposal, then, is this: the Turkish Customs are to be raised from 8 per cent. to something like 11 per cent., and five fresh monopolies are to be issued—that is, monopolies for the

manufacture and sale of certain articles in Turkey—viz., petroleum, matches, alcohol, cards, and cigarette paper. In addition to the revenue from these, something is to be gained out of the conversion of the Turkish Debt, and all is to go to keep a railway that cannot keep itself.

These are all very pretty projects; but if the Customs duties be raised, foreign trade will suffer, and British trade will suffer the most; and if, in addition to that, we are to give this line the £400,000 that we pay yearly for our Packet Service to India and the Further East, our contribution to this railway will be very large—indeed to the extent of £2,800,000.

I have said what the proposals are: increase of the Customs, manipulation of the Debt, and the five monopolies.

As to the monopolies I shall say nothing, except that they necessarily involve either absolute prohibition of the monopolized articles, or the imposition on them of prohibitive duties, without which the monopoly could not be maintained. As to the Debt, it is absolutely established for ever by the Sultan's decree of 1881, that any increase in the Customs duties shall go to the holders of that Debt until its extinction, so that the Turkish bondholders' consent would be required. The Customs, then, cannot be increased without the assent of all the Powers interested. Germany, of course, would assent; France appears to have been hypnotized. But would Russia consent? Should we consent? Ought we to consent? The increase, if any, in the Customs cannot be diverted from the bondholders to the railway without the bondholders' consent. Would they give it? I think, after the figures I have read, these questions should give pause to them and to the Government. I think I have mentioned sufficient facts to warrant me in saying that this is not in a real sense a railway at all. It does not rely on its earnings; it relies on extortion from merchants, bondholders, and tax-payers; it must bring about the oppression of the Turkish people; and the end must be, as in the case of other Turkish railways, that the increase of the tithes and taxes rendered necessary by providing the guarantees will engender increased impoverishment, and certainly lead to most serious political troubles.

But now let us suppose the railway constructed. What advantages will it bring to England? It will bring none whatever. It will not save time. Sir Thomas Sutherland has shown that though it is alleged that from London to Bombay it will save you one day and sixteen hours, you can easily gain that time by accelerating the speed of the vessels through the Suez Canal. Therefore it will not shorten the route. But would any human being, out of Bedlam, think of trusting British mails to a railway through a country like that—a country so insecure that we are told the railway will require two Army Corps to guard it? It would not materially shorten the route to India, and it would not be safe for the conveyance of the mails.

Some gentlemen present may have followed with interest the dreamings of what is called Pan-Germanism. It is an idea which aims at making completely German large bands of territory through Europe, so that German territory should stretch from Hamburg to Trieste, and from Hamburg to Salonica. This line would practically extend German territory

from Hamburg to the head of the Persian Gulf. That is the idea, and German control is the essence of it. Let me point out that the line from Haidar Pasha to Konia is completely German, and, consequently, if it were to be carried on from Konia to the Persian Gulf, there could be no communication with the outside Western world except over that German line, and through what is intended to be practically German territory. Moreover, according to the Convention, if any Power should propose to make the section from the head of the Persian Gulf to Basra, they would not be allowed to begin to work it, even when completed, until it was actually joined up to the German line at Konia. Nothing could move on it until it moved into the German line and fell under German control, which would thus have the command of the whole line from end to end.

That is not all. It is proposed that the whole of Asia Minor should be peopled with German colonists along the railway. It is contemplated that two German Army Corps should be planted there to guard the line. Every porter and every station-master would be German. The very bridges, the sleepers, and the rails are to be of German—and that means Prussian—pattern. The result of this is apparent. There would be a peaceful permeation of Mesopotamia by the German Power, and vast German profits therefrom, both financial and political.

This was a great scheme well fitted to fascinate a great and ambitious mind. I speak with unaffected admiration for Kaiser Wilhelm. His ability is certainly equalled by his ambition, and his ambition by his courage. He is the ablest Sovereign in Europe—I am tempted to say the only able Sovereign in Europe. Kaiser Wilhelm was fascinated by this great project. It seems quite clear that the Kaiser suggested it in the highest quarters when he was over here in England in November, 1899. He visited this country in that month, and Mr. Chamberlain, a few days after his departure (on November 30, 1899), made his great speech at Leicester, in which he said, alluding to British relations with the United States: "The union—the alliance, if you please—the understanding between these two great nations is, indeed, a guarantee of the peace of the world. But," he added, "there is something more which I think any far-seeing English statesman must have long descried, and that is, that we should not remain permanently isolated on the continent of Europe; and I think that the moment that aspiration was formed, it must have appeared evident to everybody that the natural alliance is between ourselves and the great German Empire." He there suggested a new Triple Alliance between England, Germany, and the United States.

Observe, this was on November 30, 1899. Now, on December 3, 1899, three days later, the German semi-official *Cologne Gazette* began, as the *Times* correspondent informed us, to "discuss with much greater complacency the successes of German diplomacy in consequence of British amity, especially in connection with the Baghdad Railway Concession," and said, among other things, that Germany "felt no difficulty in effecting a common understanding for this special purpose." And twenty days later, on December 23, 1899, the concession of the Baghdad Railway to the Anatolian Railway Company was signed at Constantinople.

The Kaiser comes in November. Mr. Chamberlain makes his speech on November 30. On December 3 appears the article in the *Cologne Gazette* about the Baghdad Railway, to the effect that there would be no difficulty in arriving at a common understanding with England; and on December 23 the first Convention is signed handing over this railway to the German syndicate.

I have long had my attention fixed upon this proposed pretended railway, and in September last I addressed a letter to the *Times* warning my countrymen not to invest their money in it. And now I have just closed a short campaign of seventeen days with regard to this railway. On April 7 I had put down a question to Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons. His reply was that the proposed railway was not, as suggested, to be a German railway. We should not regard the undertaking with unfriendly eyes. Proposals had been made to the Government that British capital should be employed on this undertaking, and that His Majesty's Government should assist the undertaking by providing a terminus at or near Koweyt.

I was very much illuminated and disturbed by Mr. Balfour's answer, and, therefore, on April 8 I raised a debate upon the matter on the question for adjournment over the Easter holidays. Again Mr. Balfour protested that it was not a German railway, rebuked me for my persistence in declaring that it was, and informed the House that there would be no difficulty about the money.

Next day there was distributed Consul Waugh's report, which quoted the text of the Convention, and clearly showed the German character of the whole railway, the exclusively German control under which it would be placed, and the German origin of the whole scheme, which had been so strenuously denied. Now, Consul Waugh's report was received by the Foreign Office on March 16, and, therefore, the Government must have been in possession of the main facts and of the Convention quoted by Consul Waugh on April 7. No doubt they had never taken the trouble to read the report, and it was reserved to the *Times* to publish the Convention itself.

That being so, I wrote two more letters to the *Times*. And here let me say that if I have sought to be, and have at all succeeded in being, a warner in this matter, the whole merit of having converted His Majesty's Government rests with the press and the public. I think we are very much indebted to the press for the public and high-spirited manner in which they have behaved.

Yesterday this very short campaign of seventeen days was ended by a retreat along the whole line on the part of His Majesty's Government. They declared that they would not be a party to the Baghdad Railway scheme; they would give none of the assurances required; they would not use the German route to India nor confide the British mails to the so-called Turkish line instead of to the P. and O. Packets; finally, they would not consent to the alteration in the Customs duties. They abandoned their first opinions and reversed their first decision, and I had the pleasure of congratulating them on their conversion to the views I had previously pressed upon them without effect.

That ends the story. It must not, however, be supposed that the matter is at an end. It has been going on a long time. The attempts to found this railway have been defeated again and again, yet those interested in it have returned to the assault, and those among us who are interested in India and the other Eastern countries must not allow our energies to flag in this matter.

The CHAIRMAN, in expressing the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Gibson Bowles for his lecture, agreed with his remarks as to the gratitude due to the Press. He also considered it a matter for congratulation that the question was not being treated in a party spirit, and he requested those gentlemen present who were experts on the subject to take part in the discussion, calling first on

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, who said: I have not the slightest hesitation in giving what I think must be a somewhat imperfect opinion, as this is not a subject to which I have been impelled to give very much attention during the last few months.

I would first desire to express my almost entire concurrence in the views of Mr. Bowles; and the only point which I wish to emphasize with reference to what he said about burying Cæsar is the great importance of remembering that, in spite of the assurance given by Mr. Balfour, this question is not dead.

The people who have conceived this scheme, and who undoubtedly intend to carry it out, will endeavour to put aside these objections. Nor can I think, from the opinions which Mr. Balfour gave a fortnight ago, that his conversion is due to anything else than the almost unanimous condemnation which this injurious scheme has received from almost every party in the British Empire.

One point is very easily dealt with: You all know that this question has been for many years before the British people, and many years ago I was very much engaged in it. We then had the absolute right of making a railway from Alexandretta to the Gulf of Persia, and we neglected our chances, and now we must not complain. At the same time, and accepting all the objections to the scheme, I should say that we can never accept the railway or assist it, unless the making and the control of the line from the Persian Gulf be entirely in the hands of England. If that were done, no great injury to our interests would arise.

If we were to come to some agreement with Russia to make a railway to the Gulf, Russia constructing it from Teheran to Hamadan and ourselves the remaining sections, then our position would be secure, though I am in favour of no line from Southern Persia to India. It is to our interest to carry all goods to the East through the sea, and not by railway lines through the hands of other nations.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH read some interesting notes on the proposed terminus on the Persian Gulf.

MR. J. D. REES said: While Mr. Bowles was speaking I made a note or two on the points which impressed me. The great point appears to me to be Koweyt. It is not perfectly clear to me that Koweyt is so much under our thumb that we can prevent any foreign Power from making a treaty

with the Sheikh, though I know that the other day we prevented the troops of the Sultan from landing. I believe that our right to Koweyt rests upon force and nothing else ; but that brings us to the root of the political aspect of the question, and that is, that not only must we assert ourselves as regards the position of Koweyt against Germany, but it should be made perfectly clear that we will assert the position of Koweyt by force against Germany or any other Power upon the Gulf.

One of the speakers dwelt upon what would happen if Russia came. I suggest that there is no port on the Persian Gulf which is not under our protection, and this is that point which the British Government should make clear—that any Power entering into possession of a port on the Gulf commits an unfriendly act, that there is a limit beyond which the British Government will not permit other Powers to go.

There is one other point : If we have lost the position between Baghdad and Basra that was ours, it is lost, and the thing cannot be helped. But is it necessary, on all occasions, to go on raising unfriendly feelings on the part of the Turkish Government ? There is one section of the press which, on all occasions, seems to assume that the Turks are more cruel, more savage, than any other nation. Nothing done by a Bulgarian is brutal at all ; but all Mussulmans are savages, and if a Mussulman happen to be a Turk he is unspeakable. We should try to be on friendly terms with the Mohammedans.

Mr. Bowles said that it was provided in the Convention that the works of the railway should be on the Prussian pattern. Were they not to be on the Prussian or the French, or even the Prussian and the French ?

Mr. Bowles spoke of the dangers of travelling. I have travelled over a good deal of the worst part of this country under the escort of one Turkish soldier as guard, and I think it would have been a very bad thing for both him and me if he had been obliged to fire a shot from his old gun. But I believe that the insecurity of the country is very much exaggerated, and I think that the stories of oppression by the Turks are also extremely exaggerated.

MR. H. F. B. LYNCH said: I suppose I have been invited to address this important gathering as having travelled over the ground to be crossed by this projected railway, and because of the connection of my family with these regions. As an original member of this Society, I have a further claim upon your indulgence ; and let me commence by congratulating the Society upon the dimensions and the quality of the present meeting. We have listened to a stirring and powerful address ; and, although we have assisted at the interment of a Cæsar, we see there before us, fresh from his victory in the House of Commons, another leader of men, ready to defend the interests of this country against all opponents, whether from in front or from behind. This Baghdad Railway scheme may be revived ; but it must take a different form. Should that shape be in harmony with the vital interests of this country, the result will have been largely due to the initiative of Mr. Gibson Bowles.

Ours is a young Society ; but it has already been instrumental in securing two momentous results. It successfully resisted the Russian

clamour for a port on the Persian Gulf in 1901-02. We are now assembled to deliver the *coup de grâce* to the German scheme. Think of the gravity of such issues! And what are the weapons in our hands? Neither the power of the purse nor political power; only the force of argument and conviction. Yet with such weapons strenuously used you may avert a catastrophe, as in the Dutch story one was arrested by the hand of a boy placed in a breach of the sea-wall.

Now, I am not one of those who would oppose the building of a railway from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. Such a railway must sooner or later be built. You have only to consider the ground-facts of the case. From Port Said to Bombay is a distance of 3,100 nautical miles; whereas only 2,250 nautical miles separate Bombay from Alexandria, of which 750 are capable of being performed by rail. You save nearly 1,000 miles in distance, and more proportionately in time of transit by adopting the sea-and-land route. And Bombay is by no means your only objective; there is the more westerly port of Karachi with its vast possibilities; there are British Baluchistan, and all our great and growing interests in Southern Persia. These centres, which are actually so much nearer home, are rendered more remote even than distant India by our adherence to a single route—the Suez Canal.

The railway will be built, but not without the assistance of this country; we have all the cards in our hands at the present time. And the question which I should like this meeting carefully to consider is, what our attitude should be towards the undertaking, with all its vast possibilities—political and commercial.

At all events, I submit, our view should be a long view; our policy towards a project with such far-reaching consequences ought to be a policy *de longue vue et de longue haleine*. A long view! Are we physically incapable of such self-projection? It is by the long view that, in the words of an American writer, "a nation develops readiness of decision in unexpected conjectures of international politics, a readiness corresponding to presence of mind in common life." And in the East events march so slowly, and their results are of such long duration, that any nation, possessing or aspiring to influence in Asia, must be capable of the long view, or it is lost. Depend upon it, the Germans, in this matter, are not pursuing a policy due to the impulse of the moment. Their plans have deep roots, and are far-reaching. What we have to do is to secure that our own nation shall not be caught napping; that a Russian port on the Persian Gulf, or a German railway across Mesopotamia, shall not be discussed in our press as new and open questions, but as projects affecting our future, upon which we have ready and distinct ideas.

It is in this spirit, and from this standpoint of the long view, that I would wish to argue this question. Sir, this subject in its widest aspects is a subject to which I have devoted the best years of my life. But, lest my own presentment of it may be coloured by a traveller's bias towards regions with which he is familiar as with his native land, permit me again to cite the American writer whom I have quoted—an American, mind you, an authority without any preconceived prejudice; one who judges such ques-

tions purely as a political student, and this student is a man of affairs and of action. "Under conditions of war," writes Captain Mahan, "the continuance of Egypt in its present tenure, and the security of the shortest route to the East, both depend ultimately upon the permanent political bias of the region now called Turkey in Asia, and, in a subsidiary degree upon that of Persia."\* This is a trenchant sentence, full of insight, and weighty with meaning; and unless England, mistress of Egypt and of India, ruler of the colonies in the Eastern seas—unless we in England come to realize the full significance of that sentence, our empire will fall like a house of cards.

But Turkey in Asia and Persia are wide geographical expressions. My own function has been the endeavour to determine by personal knowledge what regions within those limits are of prime importance to this country, and which may be considered as lying on the fringe or outside the sphere of our necessary activities. Upon which districts should we concentrate our vision, differentiating them from those where our interests, however important, may, nevertheless, be found to be of a subsidiary character?

My first proposition, in arguing this matter within brief limits, will be that Mesopotamia and South Persia constitute a definable area, which deserves the highest rank in our prudent calculations. By Mesopotamia, I mean the great alluvial plain extending from Diarbekr to the Persian Gulf, and watered by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. Southern Persia may be taken to comprise the zone of mountains extending up to and including the fringe of the Persian tableland on the side of the Persian Gulf and the Mesopotamian plain. This area, so defined, composes the *hinterland* proper of the Persian Gulf. It lies on the flank of our communications with India, with Australia and with the Far East. It contains within it the shortest route to the greatest of the British Dominions beyond the seas. So long as it is controlled by the existing Oriental empires, it cannot be of danger to ourselves. Exploited or possessed by a European Power or Powers, it would rise to the first rank in international politics; and, in the hands of a foreign Power, it would supply the pivot of domination over Egypt and the greater part of Asia.

We hear much about our interests in China and the Far East. Far be it from me to minimize, or, by a word, to disparage the importance of our stake in those countries. But I beg you to reflect, for us in England, China and the Far East may be a goal; but what is the use of a goal if the intervening spaces be barriered against your approach? If, on the very flank of your maritime communications, Powers commanding the resources of Western civilization be in a state of veiled or undisguised territorial occupation? Grant the existence of the dilemma, and what then?

I think there are three policies—three alternatives. There is, first, the maintenance of the *status quo*. That might be the best policy, if it were feasible—if other Powers could be induced to stand still. But recent events have reduced this policy to what Carlyle would call a *realised ideal*;

\* "The Problem of Asia and its Effect upon International Policies," by A. T. Mahan, D.C.L., LL.D., Captain United States Navy, London, 1900, p. 71.

it is an ostrich policy at the present day. Well, then, you might seek to internationalize these regions—that is to say, to labour for their development, not by one country, but by the private resources of all nationalities. You have pursued this policy in China, not with conspicuous success. Take care how you apply it where your vital interests are concerned. But there is another course—the third, and, in my view, far the best and the only safe alternative. It is a policy of spheres of peaceful influence. The Germans are rapidly absorbing the immense and fertile field of Asia Minor; the Russians are already predominant in Northern Persia. Our strength lies in Mesopotamia and Southern Persia, the definable area of which I have already sketched the limits. I would therefore submit, as my second proposition, that, in face of these facts, this country owes it to herself to watch with an alert and made-up mind any incursions in whatever guise by a foreign power into regions which, like Mesopotamia and Southern Persia, already constitute the established commercial sphere of Great Britain and India, and which are fraught with possibilities bearing upon our whole imperial position, which it would be madness to ignore.

It is in the light of these prudent reflections that I would invite you to consider this railway scheme. The Germans have not yet completed the line through Asia Minor; they have not yet reached the northern slopes of the Cilician Taurus; and, when they have reached these slopes, if they can find the necessary resources, the task will lie before them of crossing that belt of mountains before they are ready to descend into the Mesopotamian Plain. Their further progress to the Persian Gulf cannot well be effected without the co-operation of this country. When the time comes for them to approach us again, I trust that we shall not be unmindful of the undoubted fact that those who control the communications of a country also influence in the greatest degree the character of its future development. I hope that we shall be faithful to the efforts of our fathers and grandfathers in Mesopotamia and South Persia. I would wish that we should be consistent and true to ourselves. We have the right, and we have the means to claim, that the predominant share and control of the Mesopotamian section of the line shall be in the hands of our countrymen. It is we who have mapped these regions through two costly Government expeditions; our flag flies on the great rivers, and from Baghdad to the Gulf ours is the supreme foreign political influence. We were the first to project this railway across Mesopotamia, and I am one of those who believe that the railway ought to be carried, not across the lawless spaces of the desert, but along the course of the Euphrates, whence it could be easily policed. The present *tracé* of the line fully justifies the description which has been given of it in such vivid language by Mr. Gibson Bowles. It will also be necessary for us to secure that the line shall be joined up to the Mediterranean at the Gulf of Alexandretta. Finally, let me not forget to express my full agreement with what has fallen from Mr. Bowles on the subject of irrigation. Water-traffic on the rivers and the development of the old canals are still the prime necessities of the country. This they will remain, even when this railway has been built; and I hope that it will not distract us from our time-honoured efforts to promote and carry further these

cardinal objects, to which—even on the small scale which they have already attained in British hands—the country owes whatever prosperity it at present enjoys.

SIR CHARLES DILKE said that he had been prevented from attending the opening of the meeting, and had only heard the last three speakers. I agree in the main with Mr. Lynch upon this question. This railway is certain to be made, and we should not occupy a mere dog-in-the-manger position. Of course, a good many years ago, when the position of this country was that the Suez Canal would never be made, we looked very closely into the making of the Mesopotamian line. Then came the Suez Canal and killed the railway. Now I very much doubt whether we can believe that the line will be a through line of great importance to India. Neither do I think it will be very important to passengers, who, owing to the intense heat, would prefer the sea route.

But I believe that Mesopotamia, so far from being the desert which it is called, is the richest portion of the surface of the world. It would have been easy for our Indian engineers to restore to the plain the prosperity of the Garden of Eden, and it could be made to pay to an extent which is enormous. It will be the agricultural gold mine of the world, as it once was the granary of the world. Now we possess the necessary experience; and we know that the Australians had to send their leading men to India, to meet those who knew what had to be done in the engineering required for their country; for there are no engineers in the world as good as those in India. There is a very interesting recent writing on this subject by Sir William Wilcox, who has published a pamphlet by which he shows how perfectly practicable the irrigation of Mesopotamia would be.

I cannot but fear that the concluding portion of Mr. Lynch's remarks is too optimistic. How are we going to obtain the peaceful control of this country of Mesopotamia? Is it not obvious that the great interest of Russia and Germany would be united against us in this scheme? For us to obtain the power appears to me to be a dream, as Russian and German diplomacy would be united to prevent it. What, then, is the position? We possess the key to the situation; we have great advantages on the Persian Gulf. I think there are probably reasonable men who might support a scheme which would be a political advantage to ourselves, and, therefore, they would welcome the suggestions that we should put forward. That being so, I should say: Do not let us adopt an attitude of mere obstruction against England making the railway either by herself or in co-operation with others.

MR. LYNCH: Great Britain should have the predominant share in the Mesopotamian section.

MR. BOWLES said: I am extremely interested in hearing the discussion which has followed my lecture, and Sir Charles Dilke will be glad to know that I believe irrigation must come first and the railway must come next. I believe then that the railway would, as it were, build itself. With regard to Mr. Lynch's suggestion that we should have control of the line after it has entered the Mesopotamian Plain, I should say that, in any case, we must have access to the Gulf of Alexandretta. In reply to Mr. Rees, it is

provided that the bridges should be constructed in accordance with the patterns, Prussian or French, but the railway lines must be Prussian. Then, as to our protectorate over the Persian Gulf, there is this to be said : that our protectorate has never yet been properly formulated. I do think it should not be beyond the scope of diplomacy to secure its formulation ; that would end the whole question. I did not enter into the question of Koweyt. If the whole of the Persian Gulf were as English as Koweyt, we should have no difficulty there at all.

The CHAIRMAN proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. T. G. Bowles, which was unanimously and cordially carried.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## THE PEASANT PROPRIETORS OF INDIA.

SIR,

In the discussion which followed the reading by Mr. R. C. Dutt of his paper, entitled "The Peasant Proprietors of India," the chairman, I believe, called more than once on anyone present at the meeting, who had served as a Settlement Officer, to give his views on the subject. I was connected with the Bombay Revenue Survey for about thirty-four years, during the last eight of which I was head of the Gujarat Revenue Survey and Assessment, and I would willingly have responded to the chairman's call if I had seen the paper before it was read. But both because I had put such a technical subject as Survey Settlement out of my mind for seven years, and not being in the best of health, I preferred to remain quiet. But these reasons do not prevent my stating my views on the important subject, as concisely as I can, in the form of a letter to you, which I now proceed to do.

The main object of Mr. Dutt's paper, as emphasized by himself, is twofold—namely, (1) to obtain security for the cultivators from arbitrary and undue enhancements, and (2) to enable them to have recourse to a court of law in cases where such undue or excessive enhancements have been made.

I will take the subjects in the order stated.

As regards the first point, I deny that the peasants have not now ample security against excessive assessments, or that they have not enjoyed it from the very beginning of the Survey period, and will describe what the securities have been. First, the peasant proprietor was given a guarantee at the introduction of the first Survey Settlement that the rental announced should not be raised (mind, not

changed, for just reasons might cause it to be lowered)\* for a period of thirty years, even though in any one of those years—it may be the very first year—he might convert his dry crop land into garden, or rice-producing land. Moreover, he was told that, *from that day forward, while he continued to pay the rent, he would enjoy, for the first time in his life, proprietary rights in his holding, which he could sell, transfer, or mortgage at his discretion.* Secondly, he was told at the revision settlement that, the revised rental was also guaranteed for a term of thirty years; that, in accordance with the new clause added to the Bombay Land Revenue Code during the currency of the old lease, all improvements effected by the peasant proprietors were not considered in fixing the new rates, and that the same rule would continue to be observed in all future revisions; and, lastly, that the revision of the original Survey and the classification of soils having once been made, there will be no more such general revision, but that, at the end of each future lease, the only factor to be considered in the revision would be the market prices of agricultural produce during the currency of that lease—*i.e.*, whether they justify (a) a continuation of the lapsed rates, (b) an increase, or (c) a decrease in them. Are these guarantees so insufficient or so inefficacious that Mr. Dutt ignores them and still calls for guarantees?

Then as regards legal remedy. Supposing all the care, trouble and check employed in the long and intricate processes to arrive at Survey rentals were of no avail, are the existing civil courts competent to deal quickly and justly in matters so highly technical as Survey Settlements? While the Survey lasted Government could, at much cost and inconvenience to the public service, have arranged to pass every Judge through a complete Survey course, which would have included surveying, classification of soils, and

\* And lowered they have been in innumerable instances on account of erosions by rivers, deterioration of soils by flooding, and by spreading of salt, etc.

assessment; but this facility does not exist any longer, as, the Survey having all but finished its work, it is reduced to a shadow of its former self, and the shadow itself will soon disappear. Further, if every man of the thousands of peasant proprietors who felt himself aggrieved was to have recourse to a court, would the work of the court have any ending? Decidedly not, for the produce of a given field, year after year, is a varying quantity, and depends very much on (1) the nature of the climate of the year, and (2) the health and general capabilities of the peasant. This would imply that the court, to mete out absolute justice, would have to be supplied with, at least, from three to five years' data; and the data to be trustworthy, the court, in its own satisfaction, would have to appoint an officer of its own to watch the proceedings of the peasant from the time of ploughing to the time of weighing out and pricing the produce. There are thousands of Survey Numbers, or shares of Survey Numbers, in Bombay with areas under an acre. Supposing the peasant won the day, how much would he gain by his victory? Perhaps a few annas or pence! Would that represent gain or loss to him? Can anything more ridiculous be imagined?

Mr. Dutt attributed the Deccan riots to the large enhancements of the original Survey rates, made at the first revision settlement. Dr. Pollen denied this, and said they were owing to the action of the money-lenders. A close inquiry would, I am sure, show that Dr. Pollen is right. The original settlements in the Deccan were made in the forties of the last century, when there was not a foot of railway in the country, and trade in field produce had not begun to look up. In those days, paradoxical though it may sound, a bumper year almost meant ruin to the cultivator, for there were no means of, nor incentives for, moving the surplus produce long distances. During the currency of the lease, railways and feeder roads were made in the Deccan, the American War had poured millions of sterling money into the country, and commerce had raised

its head high indeed. The war was, I admit, an adventitious circumstance; but was the Government, who, after all, as landlord, represent the *general public*, wrong in increasing the rental of thirty years ago,\* considering that its judicious expenditure on creating facilities of communications had helped to extend cultivation and bring prosperity to the peasants?

It is necessary now to give a brief sketch of the methods pursued by the Survey Settlement Department in working out land rents, to show what anxious care and thought have been spent in solving the problems set to it. Before the Survey the Government took rent in kind. Whatever outsiders may say, this system of collection, though it may appear highly just and equitable on paper, is in practice really a most immoral system. Later on I will say a few words to explain why I say so. At any rate, vicious or not, it provided at the time the best basis obtainable to ground the Survey rates on. The Survey officer was able to obtain twenty or thirty years' revenue thus collected; and the average for the period, modified by some of the prevailing features of the time embraced, gave a pretty sound indication as to the future revenue-paying capabilities of the district. The features studied were as follows:

1. Amount of rainfall for each year.
2. Market prices of the produce for each year.
3. Communication facilities.
4. Population at beginning and end of the period embraced.
5. The number of ploughs at beginning and end of the period embraced.
6. The number of cows, bullocks, buffaloes, and sheep, at beginning and end of the period embraced.
7. The number of tiled and thatched houses at beginning and end of the period embraced.

\* It will be seen soon that this rental was based on the revenues of times when the country was gradually emerging from the devastating influences of the predatory wars of the Mahrattas.

8. The markets available for disposal of produce.
9. Wages during the period embraced.
10. Any other items of like nature.

Before obtaining these important data, however, the Survey officer first caused every field to be surveyed, and a map made of each village, showing the fields. Next, he classified the soils of each field (now called a Survey Number), which helped to fix the relative values of every Survey Number of the district. Having gone through these operations, which required two or three years, and even more, he then was prepared to work out his proposals for the Survey rates. To begin this, the most important and engrossing part of his work, he tabulated all the data mentioned above. Then, with their help, and that of the knowledge afforded by the Survey and classification processes, as also that given by the close personal observations made during his several visits to the district to supervise the work of his assistants and their subordinates, he wrote a detailed description of the country to be affected, both from a physical and revenue point of view. He then divided the villages of the tract into groups, in connection with their position to the market towns, and to the difference in the rainfall (if any). For each of these groups, then, he worked out a maximum rate, graduated from the most favoured to the least favoured; showed the general result of its application; and gave reasons for any marked increase or decrease, as compared with the past revenue realizations. When the Settlement Officer had arrived so far, his report was ready for submission to the higher authorities. These authorities, in the early days, were the Collector, the Revenue Commissioner, and finally the Government. In after-years a Survey Commissioner was added to the number. It was only after the report, with its map and figured appendices, had run the gauntlet of so many examining authorities that the Settlement Officer found himself in a position to work out the rental of each Survey Number, which he was directed to introduce *tentatively for two years*.

Before coming to the actual introduction of the Survey rates, I must explain how they are worked out, in order to show that, so far as Bombay is concerned, the charge of Mr. Dutt, made on page 241, lines 12 to 18, is baseless. I said above that the classification of the soil of the Survey Numbers fixed their relative values in point of fertility. Well, after the receipt of Government sanction, a statement is made in which all Survey Numbers of a village, having the same value, are grouped together; and, in columns provided for the purpose, the maximum rate of the village, the total area of each Survey Number, its unproductive waste (if any) and the clear assessable area, are shown. With the aid of tables made for the purpose, the multiplication of the assessable area by the maximum rate is a *mere mechanical operation, which leaves no room for the fancies of the clerk to come into play*. To remove chances of error, *every figure in this statement is examined by another clerk, who has to sign the statement*. After this, an assistant takes a test of 10 per cent., and also signs it, *having first written down the Survey Numbers which came under his test*. In fact, every Survey and Settlement paper is thus treated before it is ready for use or record.

Now, I hope Mr. Dutt will take particular note of what follows in this paragraph. Armed with the original Survey rates of every Survey Number of all the villages of the tract, the Settlement Officer marched into the district, and, making several convenient camps, assembled the cultivators, and announced to them their new rates or rents, telling them at the same time that he will come round for two successive years to judge of their effects, and, if necessary, make alterations or reductions. At the end of the two years, having satisfactorily removed grievances and corrected irregularities, he made a final and permanent Settlement report, and handed the revenue management of the district back to the Collector. Does not this effectively undermine Mr. Dutt's position?

At the revision settlement, after the termination of the

first lease of thirty years, the Settlement Officer collected the same kind of data as at the original, adding thereto information as to the number of notices and the distress warrants issued each year for the recovery of rent from backward or defaulting peasants. Having thus before him all the previous Settlement literature, and an accurate financial and economical history of every year of the lapsed lease, he made his revision proposals in a detailed report, which went through the same rigorous ordeal as the original report, before he could work out and announce the revised rates. The above is a sketchy, though a very fair, description of the duties of a Bombay Settlement Officer. Now, I think I am entitled to ask, Did any of the ladies and gentlemen present at the meeting, not in the secret, get the faintest idea of the enormous and trying amount of work that has to be gone through to arrive at Survey rates, and of the way in which it is performed, from the statements so airily made by Mr. Dutt? On the contrary, did not Mr. Dutt make it the burden of his charge, that the peasant proprietors had *no* security against excessive assessment, thereby leaving his audience to naturally conclude that the Settlement Officer's work was done, not only in a haphazard manner, but with intentional bias in favour of Government as against the peasant? The history of each Settlement is published by Government in a collected form, and can be bought by anyone for a shilling or two. Why will gentlemen like Mr. Dutt entirely ignore them, or treat them as a contaminated source of information? This one act of theirs, I think, gives away the bent of their mind, which is to give Government and their officers no credit for possessing a sense of impartiality, and to readily believe everything that is said against them.

One of the statements made by Mr. Dutt in his reply to his critics surprised me not a little. He stated that, from a conversation he had had with some peasant proprietors of Baroda, he had found that our Survey rates on the border of Gujarat were higher than the original rates prevailing on

the other side of the boundary. First and foremost, this is strange, for until quite recently, when Survey rates on the Bombay principle were introduced into Baroda, the Gaekwar took his rent in kind. And, next, I learnt on good authority that the Baroda Survey Settlement reduced the rental in the rich alluvial soil districts adjoining Gujarat, which were higher than our rents on soils of a similar character. Moreover, I was in Gujarat continuously from 1884 to 1896, during which time I had frequent opportunities of comparing notes with Gaekwari subjects, and with our own subjects who held land on both sides of the boundary, and I must say my information is quite opposed to that of Mr. Dutt.

Now a few words about the unfortunate indebtedness of our peasants. I cannot but attribute nearly the whole of the difficulties of their present position to the multiplication of the civil courts, and to the law of limitation. Before these curses of the peasants came into existence, the money-lender and his debtors were almost a happy family, in that perfect confidence existed between them. When a peasant died, his son, or sons, willingly took upon themselves the family debt, there being no repudiation at all. But the law of limitation, and the ease of resorting to legal action by the courts being brought almost to their door, changed everything. The Stamp Act further aggravated the situation by adding to the expenses of litigation. While, under the new circumstances, the peasant remained the simple, ignorant man that he always was, the money-lender became wily and learned in the intricacies of the law. He soon got the upper hand of his debtors, whom in his own interest he converted into his serfs; and his methods are these: He, with threats of, or actual recourse to, law, dispossesses the debtor of his holdings, but prefers to keep this fact to himself and his victim. To the officials, and in all the village records, *the latter is still proprietor, while the former assumes the rôle of mortgagee!* The advantages of this position are that, while the responsibilities of ownership continue on the

shoulders of the peasant, *the money-lender, as the supposed mortgagee, saves himself the trouble of having recourse to the civil courts to recover his mortgage dues, for in this capacity he can, at any time he chooses, claim the free help of the revenue officials of the district!* The peasant can never hope to shake himself free of his tyrant, for he either has to pay the latter double the Survey rental, or half the produce, besides compound interest on the sum he owes. Such being his condition, he never has seed at sowing-time. He obtains it from his master on the condition that it is repaid, at the coming harvest, with an addition of 25 per cent. ! It will be seen from this description of the true state of existing affairs that the Survey rental has no part in enslaving our peasant proprietors ; and so long as people remain blind to the true cause of the peasants' harrowing condition, so long will they be beating about in the dark for the right remedy to cure the festering sore.

Another point, and I shall conclude. During the discussion, allusion was made in a very favourable manner to payment in kind as compared with payment in money, and I heard the word "Shame!" come from more than one quarter. No doubt payment in kind looks, on paper, such a simple and just system of collecting rents. What more equitable than that, in good or bad years, the peasants should pay under it the same proportion of the actual produce? For the benefit of the people who know it only in theory, I will add an extract or two from my Settlement report on the Wadhvân State in Kâthiâwâr. I may state that I introduced Survey rates into the State at the request of the Chief, and with the permission of our Government. Here are the extracts :

" The system of collection of land revenue now obtaining in the State is the 'bhag buttai,' or division of produce. As the term applies, in its simplest form, it must have meant the mere sharing of the produce of the land between the land-owner and his tenant. As time sped on, however, and the wants of the land-owning class, from various causes,

increased, opportunities were taken to graft cesses on to it under different names. Some of these cesses, to an onlooker, seemed to be whimsical indeed. For instance, in the village of — I noticed cesses in the name of the cook, or, of a particular karbhari (official). In other cases, I have noticed a cess, although put on for a temporary purpose, to have become permanent, the patient, suffering nature of the rayat (peasant) being evidently taken as the justifying cause. This is one way in which the patriarchal system can be, and is, abused. The other way is in the administering of it by necessarily low-paid servants. I need not say anything on this point, because it is not difficult to imagine what weak human nature, in the circumstances of a village havildar"—who receives about three or four rupees per month, equal to four or five shillings—"or of a small paid karkun (clerk) invested with authority, and left pretty well to its own devices, can be capable of." I may add in parenthesis, for the benefit of the reader, that a cultivator comes under the espionage of the petty officials when the grain begins to form, and remains under it till after the division of the produce has been effected, a period varying from three to five or six months! "I am sorry to note, however, that in 1878 the allowance that used to be made in favour of the hard-working cultivator, who liberally manured his field, was discontinued, owing, it is alleged, to the difficulties of working it. That such an allowance ever existed is an admission that the bhag buttai system is wanting in the goad of self-interest to drive people on to cultivate their fields highly. . . . In all the villages except — a cultivator is charged at the rate of four annas (fourpence) per bigha (3.90 bighas going to an acre) of his khata (registered) land, which he has left uncultivated. This was an important tax to protect the Durbar from grasping cultivators, whose hunger for land far exceeded their means for cultivating it. Doubtless, if the bhag buttai system admitted of a better remedy against slovenly cultivation, it would long ago have been provided in the

same way, but its very essence is opposed to it." After alluding to the great poverty of many of the villages which are named, I said : " In their case the bhag buttai system, which offers scarcely any incentive to put forth one's whole strength into the cultivation of one's field, has obviously failed. Will the Survey system succeed where the old system has failed ? It is a well-known fact that nothing insures success so certainly as exertions which spring from self-interest, for they are persistent and untiring. In the bhag buttai system, the harder a man works the bigger is the share of the Durbar ; under the Survey system, on the contrary, he has a fixed sum to pay, so that the fruits due to his hard toil are all his own."

T. R. FERNANDEZ.

*July* 18, 1903.

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MALARIA :—ITS CAUSE AND CURE.

SIR,

The discovery of the living organism that produces an attack of malaria in the human subject must be reckoned one of the greatest benefits which, in the present age, adds lustre to the achievements which the science of medicine has produced, and will add to the well-being and happiness of the inhabitants of those regions where this dangerous disease has its chosen localities. For centuries this malady has been the bane of some of the finest regions of the earth, and has played havoc with large numbers of the inhabitants who dwell there, and through this cause, has rendered desolate large tracts of these regions. Our armies when located in these quarters, have suffered more from this secret foe than from the open enemy in the field, and officers and men have returned home with frames more disabled by this malign influence than from the wounds received in many a well-fought battle.

Now, we have the pleasant prospect that all these dangers can be met, and that this malign fiend can be destroyed and extirpated, by the discovery of the manner

in which the maleficent germ enters the system and produces its disastrous results.

It was in 1879 that M. Alphonse Laveran, a French army surgeon, commenced his researches to discover the true cause of this plague, and on November 6, 1880, light dawned on his astonished vision, when he beheld through the microscope a degenerated red blood corpuscle project from its surface long thin arms that waved about, lashing and scattering the adjoining cells. There could be no doubt of the vitality of this new organism. It had entered this red corpuscle, lived in it as its own home, and, having eaten up its owner, destroyed its being as a nourisher and strengthener of the human body, the red corpuscle being a carrier of oxygen, and supplying the pabulum, which keeps the whole system in health. The red corpuscle, with the exception of its skin or envelope, is then eaten up, and the new tenant, having arrived at maturity, becomes quiescent: and afterwards, having separated into several segments, bursts, and, entering the blood current, produces the symptoms which indicate the presence of the fever of malaria. M. Laveran wrote a short paper on the subject of his observations and sent it to the Paris Academy of Medicine, and it was read at their meeting on November 23, 1880. This was the beginning that has led up to the true pathology of the disease, and the results of further observations—great and beneficent in their discovery—have entirely changed the views that have for many years held the field as the probable cause of the nature of the malady.

A further discovery was made by Professor Golgi of Pavia which elucidated the differences in the character of the malarial fevers: that each separate form of the disease had its own particular parasite; that the arrangement of their segments was distinct in appearance and number, and that their sporulation and periodicity were also different. Thus, to quote from a most interesting paper on this subject in *Climate* by Dr. Sambon, quartan fever *Hæmamoeba malariae* recurs every seventy-two hours, that

time being necessary for the germ to grow and segment; *Hæmamoeba vivax* taking forty-eight hours to mature; *Hæmamoeba præcox* twenty-four; and *Hæmamoeba Laverani* of "tertian" type, is variable, as the maturity of its cells is diverse: all the cells not arriving at full growth at the same time.

In 1896 Dr. Manson was led to believe that the mosquito was the intermediary agent in conveying the protozoon to the human body, and this idea was confirmed by experiment by Dr. Ross to be correct, and to Major Ross is thus due the complete settlement of this long vexed question. The mosquito sucks the blood of a malarial person and receives the germ of the disease into its mouth and stomach, afterwards taking in like manner the blood from a healthy person, and in doing so leaves the malarial poison with this new victim. The disease is not, therefore, dangerous through aerial infection, but, like hydrophobia, by actual contact.

In June of this year papers relating to the investigation of malaria and other tropical diseases and the establishment of schools of tropical medicine were presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty with the heading, "Colonies—Miscellaneous." The first of these papers is a letter from Mr. Chamberlain to the Governors of all the colonies, and is dated May 28, 1903. No letter could be more admirable in its tone or deal with the subject of malaria in a better or more appreciative spirit. In 1897 Dr. Manson brought this matter particularly to the notice of the Colonial Secretary, and steps were taken to arrange the facts and utilize the information received relative to this class of diseases and the adoption of some means of combating these disorders; the mortality amongst Europeans in the African colonies and protectorates was taken notice of; the necessity of a training-school in tropical medicine and methods adopted to prevent or cure these diseases. The Royal Society lent its aid in giving a grant, and in 1898 arrangements were made for

instituting a school of tropical medicine and a scientific inquiry into malaria. Contributions were received from the colonies in aid of the undertaking. The school was opened on November 11, 1900, at the Albert Docks, London, and another had been established and equipped at the University College, Liverpool, a year previous. These schools are open to medical officers when on leave who have worked in the colonies abroad. Information was received from Dr. Sambon and Dr. Low in 1900 that protection by mosquito curtains or netting can keep off the mosquito and thus prevent infection. A laboratory also for tropical disease has been established in the Federated Malay States. Investigations have been made by the authorities with reference to the particular anopheles in Sierra Leone which produces malaria; also regarding yellow fever, *filariasis*, *beri-beri*, deadly sleeping sickness, and a new disease, *trypanosomiasis*. The means to be adopted for the protection of the inhabitants of these regions are—mosquito curtains, the destruction of the habitats of the gnat in its early development, and the use of large doses of quinine at the proper stage of the disease.

The Government deserves unstinted praise for its prompt and speedy action in taking up this question, and realizing the importance of the investigation of the causes of these diseases and the quickest methods of their extirpation, and it must have some satisfaction in contemplating the work already done, and the splendid results obtained, and sure to follow, from their adoption. Cicero long ago remarked, that "men do not approach nearer to the gods in any one thing than in giving health to men," and even Homer speaks of the army surgeon of his time in high praise :

"A wise physician, skilled our wounds to heal,  
Is more than armies to the public weal."

I am, etc.,

G. BROWN, M.D.

Colchester,

September 15, 1903.

## INDIAN TAXATION—THE SALT TAX.

SIR,

Will you allow me to thank Mr. Pennington for the very kind manner\* in which he has noticed my paper on "Indian Taxation," and to say a few words on the two points in which he thinks I have fallen into a mistake? The first point is that of the Salt Tax, or Monopoly, which is, as Mr. Pennington observes, the correct term, though "tax" is shorter and more convenient. He says that I have underrated even the direct pecuniary burdens it imposes on the people, and that I have altogether omitted to notice the far worse indirect burdens it imposes on them by preventing them from making rough salt for themselves and their cattle, or from buying the minimum quantity necessary for health, and by checking agriculture and other industries for which an unrestricted supply of salt is absolutely necessary. He admits that the people themselves are not fully conscious of these indirect evils, and that they will gain very little benefit by the reduction in the duty which has been granted this year. He admits, also, that the Government of India urgently requires the £6,000,000 a year which the tax produces. But he thinks that the total abolition of the tax would produce such great benefits that it should be effected at all cost, and he suggests that the loss to the Exchequer should be made good by special taxation of "the 60,000,000 admitted even by Mr. Digby to be well off." He says that even a poll-tax would be less oppressive than the existing system, though he does not go so far as to actually recommend its imposition. It may perhaps be too much to say that the total abolition of the Salt Tax would produce little real benefit to the poorest classes, and in my supplementary paper I have myself noticed what Mr. Pennington justly regards as the most objectionable feature in the existing monopoly, the institution of vexatious prosecutions for petty offences. But,

\* See Mr. Pennington's letter in our July issue, pp. 186-189.

as I showed, this could be remedied by an executive order without interfering with the tax generally, or even seriously diminishing the income from it.

As for the direct pecuniary burden, Mr. Pennington says that we should take the household as consisting of five persons, and that the tax of 5d. per head thus becomes one of 25d., which is equivalent to a reduction of 4 per cent. in the income of the poorest class. He says "this in itself is no light burden," and no doubt the burden looks heavy on paper. But is it so in reality? The very poorest live from hand to mouth, spending their small earnings on food generally, and the amount spent on salt is insignificant. Fluctuations in its price are as nothing compared with those in the price of flour. Whether, if the price of salt were greatly reduced, its consumption would be greatly increased and the indirect benefits anticipated by Mr. Pennington follow from this increased consumption is, I think, somewhat doubtful. But I have no doubt whatever that if the tax were to be altogether abolished, and if a collector were to be sent round to demand annually 5d. per head or 25d. from each household, the people, rich or poor, would certainly not prefer the new state of things to the old.

As to the suggestion that the £6,000,000 required to replace the Salt Tax might be levied from the 60,000,000 "admitted even by Mr. Digby to be well off," I would remark, in the first place, that the Income Tax returns do not show anything like this number of persons with taxable incomes. I have not these returns by me, but, if I remember rightly, the total number of income-tax payers was only about half a million, and of these the greater number had incomes under Rs. 1,000 a year, and they have now been exempted. But even if 60,000,000 or any other number of well-to-do persons could be found, it would be socialistic legislation of an extreme kind to subject them to special taxation.

The recent reduction in the tax was hailed with a chorus of approval in the House of Commons when the Indian

Budget was discussed there at the close of the session. There was much fine talk about "relieving the burdens of the people," but no one attempted to answer the question I put in my supplementary paper, How is a relief of a penny in ten pounds to reach the consumer who buys his salt by the ounce? I quite agree with Mr. Pennington that the Members of Parliament he names would not frame either their speeches or their views in order to catch votes. But it is the desire "to catch votes" which is the very foundation of party politics, and causes high-sounding phrases about "free breakfast-tables" and "relieving the burdens of the people" to be accepted as axioms which may not be disputed. At the very time that the House was applauding this relief of the "burdens" of the people of India, it had imposed on them a charge of some £700,000 on account of the increase in the pay of British soldiers serving in India, and it was contemplating an annual addition of some £400,000 on account of the troops it was proposed to keep in Natal.

The other matter in which Mr. Pennington says I have made a mistake is one connected with the land revenue. I am wrong in saying that the memorial in which he joined was referred by the Government of India to the Madras Government; but I am still more wrong in saying that the memorialists recommended the standard of 20 per cent. of the gross produce as the basis of assessment. My authority was the Blue-Book published in March of last year, to which I referred freely in the part of my paper on "Indian Taxation" which deals with the land revenue. I have not this Blue-Book by me, and I may have made both the mistakes pointed out; if so, I can only apologize for my error. But the point does not appear to me to be of much practical importance, for what I endeavoured to show in my remarks on the land revenue was the impossibility of laying down any hard and fast standard of assessment. So far as a fixed standard can be laid down, the "half net assets" one has been adopted, and I think it may be said—at any rate, as

regards Northern India, which is the only part of which I have personal experience—that no individual ordinarily pays more than 20 per cent. of the gross produce. To say that under no possible circumstances he should pay more would be as unjust to the Government as it would be unjust to him to say that under no circumstances should he pay less. To elaborate this point would be merely to repeat my former remarks.

CHARLES A. ROE.

September 1, 1903.

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THE "INDIAN PHANTOM."

SIR,

In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of April last appeared an article by Mr. William Digby dealing with my recent contribution to your pages headed as above. This article is curiously like what I had expected—discursive, declamatory, evading the point at issue, inaccurate, self-exalting. I had expected the blessed word "crux"—it is there; I had anticipated plentiful abuse of myself—it is there. I am presumptuous. No doubt to criticise Mr. Digby is the very height of presumption, but we venture to criticise Cæsar and Napoleon, Shakespeare and Milton, even St. Paul. I am very poorly equipped for this tourney. So Mr. Digby regards it as a tourney, a contest for display. He will not attack the arguments but the arguer; the less he can do the former the more he will do the latter. He will go at such arguer hard, yell his name, pommel him, knock him flat, trample him to pulp, and ride about the proud victor of the lists. If he likes such prancing, let him prance. I am concerned solely with the presentation of the condition of the people of India in English pennies, or parts of a penny, per diem. I will leave alone, therefore, the abuse of myself—which places me in very good company, I am told—except where it

happens to be connected with the points I wish to deal with.

Mr. Digby had said, in reply to the characterization of his calculations as flimsy and baseless, "The amount obtainable as land revenue cannot be occasion for doubt," and "that is the sole figure upon which I based my statement as to India growing poorer"; whereas, as a matter of fact, he based it on the non-agricultural income—an estimate of it, too.

Lord Curzon having stated (1901) that there had been a rise of Rs. 2 and Rs. 1 per head in the income of the agricultural and non-agricultural classes, Mr. Digby began his adverse comment with the words "so far from there being an increase of Rs. 3," and used this utterly wrong figure of his own making for purposes of comparison. It was a very bad mistake, for it was indicative of a natural incapacity in connection with such matters; otherwise Mr. Digby would have seen that the increase of the whole could not rise above the increase of the parts, seen that he had raised one increase 50 per cent., tripled the other. The figure showing the whole increase would depend on the numbers of the two classes, vary with them.

In 1881-1882 Lord Cromer and Sir D. Barbour made an estimate of the income of the whole of India by making an estimate of the agricultural income, and adding to that half of itself for the non-agricultural income. In 1901 Mr. Digby makes a similar calculation in a similar way. He compares the two results, and founds on the comparison grave public utterances. He did not see that the first thing was a conjecture, and the second thing was a conjecture, and the whole thing was a conjecture. Then, when the damning character, for any purpose of serious use, of the one-half assumption was pointed out, Mr. Digby made a separate and most careful and most elaborate calculation, and lo! its result agreed very closely with the other one; in his own words, corroborates it, is a complete justification of it. It did come, indeed, very near to it. The

figures are all given in my paper. In his first calculation, in which he assumed the non-agricultural income to be exactly half the agricultural, he made it £86,000,000; in his second calculation, in which "exact figures were dealt with," he made it £85,000,000. Mr. Digby then rushed off to the desired conclusion. His total calculation being £160,000,000 less than the calculation of 1881-1882, this "was the amount by which India is poorer to-day than it was twenty years ago."

Mr. Digby thought that by his production of a corroborative statement made out by himself he had smoothed away all difficulties. He did not perceive that he had plunged himself in greater. Desirous of using that calculation of 1881-1882, Mr. Digby strives to impose on it an authority which the Government of India itself has long since repudiated. In his present paper he says that it was made by eminent men and able administrators. True; but the question is, How did they themselves regard it? As a correct or a conjectural estimate? Obviously the latter, for they set forth openly the fact that so much as one-half of the whole amount was pure conjecture. But apart from this, what Mr. Digby does not perceive is that if that estimate of 1881-1882 were correct, that very correctness would militate against the correctness of his own calculation twenty years later, for the proportion between the two classes of income could not possibly have remained the same. What he has set forth is, that having made a calculation on a wrong basis, on the absurd supposition that because in 1881-1882 one income was taken as half the other that proportion was to hold good for ever (on authority), he made another calculation, based on exact figures, and found this "justify" and "corroborate" the other—come most surprisingly near to it. By all the laws of chances, this is beyond the limits of credibility.

From this calculation Mr. Digby proceeds to derive a figure which is to exhibit the income per head per diem of the whole of India in English pennies or parts of a penny.

Besides the agricultural and non-agricultural income, we have now to deal with the population and the rate of exchange. I point out that it is impossible to make any correct estimate of the income of the whole of India. The character of these very calculations show it. Calculations of it for the same year differ as 450, 285, 427.; while the calculation by a very competent authority for a year not remote is 655. The population is an enormous one. It does not possess the similarity needed for averages, but the dissimilarity that militates against them. It consists of diverse races, of diverse degrees of civilization down to barbarism, living under diverse climatic conditions, which produce different wants and needs, as for food, clothing, and shelter, whose food consumption is governed by different religious sanctions and prohibitions—vegetarians and meat eaters. How can one figure exhibit the condition of these? Take the case elsewhere. India is as large as Europe, less Russia. What would be the value placed on a figure set forth as exhibiting the daily means of subsistence of all the States of Europe with one exception? What would be the value of such a figure for the United Kingdom? Would it show the dire poverty that accompanies the great wealth, the condition of agriculture? Would it reveal or obscure? Mr. Digby has a way of misapprehending what one says, and using the misapprehension for a bit of abuse, or for escape from a difficult dilemma on a side-issue. When in setting forth considerations similar to the above in my first paper I asked what would be the value of such a figure for all India, for each of the great Provinces separately, Mr. Digby misinterprets this into an assertion on my part that no such calculations had been made for the Provinces separately, proceeds to state that he had set them forth ten and a half months before, and to regive them. For this last I am thankful, however it came about, for Mr. Digby's tables and his deduction therefrom afford the best proof and illustration of what I have said above. At p. 355 he sets forth the deduction, the income

per head per annum, in triumphant capitals, as usual—"just over £1 per annum (20s. 1¼d., to be precise)"—adding, "This condition of poverty, be it never forgotten, represents income in an ordinary year; in a famine year things become worse." But when we turn to the tables themselves (p. 354), we find that while two generally considered prosperous Provinces—the United Provinces and the Punjâb—exhibit a lower figure than the above under each head of income, as thus: Average agricultural income, North-west Provinces and Oudh, £0 16s. 8d., Punjâb, £0 16s. 5d.; non-agricultural income, the first £0 14s. 7d., the second £0 18s. 5d., the generally supposed poor province of Bombay exhibits higher figures, these being £1 6s. 2d. and £3 3s. 10d. The income for the whole of India does not show the income for any part of it. The average does not inform but misinform, if you attach any reality to it. Lastly, different calculators take different proportions of the population; Mr. Digby varies them himself.

The dividend, the whole income, the divisor, the whole or a part of the population, being uncertain, the quotient, the average income, is also uncertain.

To this is added the uncertainty of the rate of exchange. By what rate shall we exhibit the income of the whole of India in English coinage? Why at any current rate? Such direct transference does not give the parallel or corresponding wages. With exchange at 1s. 4d. 7½ rupees equal 10s., but an earning of the first in India, of the second in England, per week, would not be the same, but a very different thing; the latter would represent a poor wage, the other a good income, which, in its purchasing power and conference of social status, would correspond, not to an income of £26 per annum, but to one of £150 or £200 per annum. The presentation of Indian earnings in English money tends to deceive, because the English reader will think of the local earning power of the English

sum, which is deeply impressed on his mind, rather than of the local earning power of the sum it is said to represent, of which he has no personal knowledge.

For all the reasons given above, I designate any of the various sums,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., 1d.,  $\frac{3}{4}$ d.,  $\frac{1}{2}$ d., which are said to indicate the daily means of subsistence of the whole of India, a phantom; hold it a harmful absurdity, a gross deception, an outrage on the feelings of those kindly disposed toward India in England.

Mr. Digby represents me as saying that the unskilled labourer in Northern India now gets only 2d. per day instead of 3d., when what I said was to the contrary effect, that the daily wage of the unskilled labourer in Northern India had stood still—a matter of concern to myself—while the turning of that wage into English money would show it as varying.

Mr. Digby represents me as not knowing the difference between production and distribution. The wife of the cultivator who husks the rice and grinds the corn is to the extent of that labour a producer. Labour gives value. It is the labour and ingenuity of man that cause the earth to give forth her increase. The grain-dealer is in his way a producer—"to move is to produce." The fact is that Mr. Digby, beginning to see that he cannot estimate the non-agricultural income, is anxious to get rid of it altogether; it is curious to watch his struggles, to see him tending toward the old error of the physiocrats.

India being different from England, a tropical country, I point out that in any consideration of the means of subsistence of its people this fact must be borne in mind, it must be remembered that the people do not live here but live there; not being able to controvert this oft-forgotten but most obvious and important fact, Mr. Digby seizes on the words, "live there" to get away from it, divert the attention of the reader from it by a parade of death-rates. I am not unacquainted with these, nor indifferent to them,

but this paper is concerned solely with certain calculations and their mode of presentation. For a great many years the health of the people about me "there" was a matter of concern and consideration to me, not only because of my interest in the people, but because of its connection with my work, irrigation, the progress of which was greatly impeded because of its supposed unavoidable unhealthiness.

Fever, the deadliest of the diseases of the land, was fathered on it wholly, as Mr. Digby fathers it wholly on "starvation." But the most careful inquiries after some of its epidemic outbursts failed to point conclusively to any one cause; it raged in the most diverse places and under the most diverse circumstances. The health of a people depends on a great number of causes, many of them still unknown. Swamps and insufficient food, no doubt, were strong contributory causes. But so was deficient command of clothing, more especially warm clothing, a want more felt in those high regions of Northern India than in lower regions with a warmer and more equable clime. In my own experience I witnessed a great, a most visible change for the better in that respect in town and country both. No doubt there is plenty of room, and great need, for further improvement still.

With regard to the food, it is not only the quantity or the quality that has to be considered, but the cooking, often very indifferently done (and a badly-cooked vegetable diet is very unwholesome) from want of fuel, so that I urged on the Government the use of the banks of the great canals for the growing of fuel rather than of timber. Along with Mr. Digby's paper appears an article by a native gentleman, in which he points out the deficiencies of his countrymen with regard to cleanliness and sanitation, a knowledge of the elementary principles of hygiene. What effect has child marriage on the health of a people? But this is not the place to consider this matter. I am concerned here only with certain calculations, with regard to which I have still a few more words to say.

In the portion of his paper devoted to my co-fool and fellow-idiot, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Digby controverts the opinion advanced, he says, by Mr. Rogers, that the "Bombay cultivators" are "progressing in those things which make for rural prosperity." He himself proceeds to say that "Bombay, outside the capital city and a few towns, is the Cinderella of the Presidencies and Provinces of India," the poor and neglected member of the family. Then comes a grand display of statistics. He gives comparisons between it and Madras, Bengal, the Central Provinces, the North-West Provinces, and the Punjâb, under the heads (a) "Incidence of Taxation per Hundred"; (b) "Irrigation per Hundred Acres Cultivated"; (c) "Ploughs per Hundred Acres of Cropped Area"; (d) "Head of Cattle for the same." I will give the comparisons for some of them.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
North-Western Provinces ...	139	26	12	69
Punjâb ... ..	114	32	9	61
But for poor Bombay ...	199	3'2	4'4	35

But when we turn to the tabular statements of the various Provinces (p. 354) we find the following figures :

	Average Agricultural Income.			Average Non-agricultural Income.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
North-Western Provinces ...	0	16	8	0	14	7
Punjâb ... ..	0	16	5	0	18	5
But for Cinderella Bombay ...	1	6	2	3	3	10

This is curious. The evil case of some portions of the Bombay Presidency has long been matter of public notoriety. But Mr. Digby dubs the whole Presidency "The Cinderella of the Presidencies and Provinces of India," and then gives a table of incomes which shows it a long way ahead of them all as regards non-agricultural income, and

even as regards agricultural income ahead of them all, with the single exception of little Assam!! Burma is outside the peninsula.

Yours faithfully,

R. E. FORREST.

LONDON,

June 21, 1903.

### THE BRITISH AFRICAN PROTECTORATES.

Lord Cranborne, Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, stated on August 5 last that the approximate areas and population were as follows :

1. *East Africa Protectorate*.—Area, 350,000 square miles ; population, 4,000,000, including 5,000 Asiatics and 450 Europeans and Eurasians.

2. *Uganda Protectorate*.—Area, 80,000 square miles ; population under 4,000,000 ; Europeans, about 300.

3. *British Central Africa*.—Area, 42,217 square miles ; population, native, variously estimated at figures ranging from 3,000,000 to 850,000, very recent return states 736,724 ; Europeans 538.

4. *Somaliland*.—Area, 68,000 square miles ; population 500,000 (chiefly nomadic). The estimates of the native populations should be received as in the main conjectural.

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### EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE.

A very valuable and exhaustive report by the Commissioner, Sir C. Eliot, has been laid before Parliament (see *Africa*, No. 6, 1903). The Commissioner states that this Protectorate "may be roughly defined as the territories under British protection lying between the East Coast of Africa and Lakes Victoria and Rudolf." The coast-line extends from the Equator to 4° 30' south. On the north it is bounded by the Italian possessions and the river Juba, and on the south by German East Africa. The north-western parts of the Protectorate are very imperfectly known, and the frontier with Abyssinia has not yet been delineated, although a preliminary survey is being undertaken. The various provinces, their tribes, productions of the soil, trade, commerce, finance, and prospects, are all minutely described. The improvement of Mombasa is very gratifying. The Commissioner states "that streets have been drained, enlarged, and beautified. New roads and a public garden have been constructed, and a quantity of useless ruins cleared away. Also an excellent hotel has been opened in the central square. A bank has been built and a cathedral is in contemplation. Other religionists have shown greater activity in construction, for a Hindu temple and a mosque for Indian

Muhammadans are nearly completed. An esplanade has been made at Lamu, where formerly the houses were built down to the edge of the sea. Some good stone buildings have been erected at Malindi, and the street improvements at Takaungu and Kipini, the Government buildings at Gasi and Shimoni, have been repaired."

The East African Protectorate is administered under the direction of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Mombasa is recognised as the seat of Government.

#### SLAVERY AND FREE LABOUR.

The Assistant Secretary (Mr. Monson), having prepared an interesting report on this subject, it was laid before Parliament in July last (Africa, No. 8, 1903). He considers the question of slavery under two heads: "those relating to slavery, and those bearing upon the supply and quality of free labour. The former really applies to a small part of the Protectorate only—viz., the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, comprising a strip ten miles broad along the coast from the Uмба River to Kipini, and the Lamu Archipelago." "In all other parts of the Protectorate slavery is prohibited, and, in point of fact, it does not exist, except, perhaps, to a very small extent among the Somalis." Where it does exist it is gradually dying out. Masters do not wish to lose their slaves (1) because it is difficult to obtain free labour to replace them, and (2) the possession of slaves confers a certain prestige, and relieves the master of the necessity of working for himself. Slaves may be divided into three classes: (1) Domestic, (2) agricultural labourers, and (3) artisans. They are, generally speaking, well treated. The Uganda Railway is creating a great demand for free labour, and when a slave crosses the boundary-line of the Sultan, he thereby becomes free, and earns good wages. Thus it is expected that in a few years great agricultural and industrial enterprises will be developed by the voluntary labour of its own inhabitants.

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#### A JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN THE BRITISH EAST AFRICAN PROTECTORATE.

The British Government, in a letter from the Foreign Office dated August 14 last to the Secretary of the Jewish Colonial Trust, expresses its willingness to give every facility and protection to deputies appointed to inquire as to "any vacant land suitable for the purpose of a Jewish settlement." If a site can be found which the Trust and His Majesty's Commissioner consider suitable, and which commends itself to His Majesty's Government, such a proposal will be favourably entertained, "on conditions which will enable the members to observe their national customs," and "the appointment of a Jewish official as the chief of the local administra-

tion, and permission to the colony to have a free hand in regard to municipal legislation and the management of religious and purely domestic matters, such local autonomy being conditional upon the right of His Majesty's Government to exercise general control." The Zionist Congress at their sitting on August 26 resolved to send such a deputation by 295 votes to 177. This proposition of the Foreign Office is meeting with opposition.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

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THE CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1902.

1. *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, by ALFRED J. BUTLER, D.LITT., F.S.A., Fellow of Brasenose College, author of "The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt," etc.

This is a remarkably well executed work from a tangled skein of authorities composed of Western writers, Armenian, Egyptian, Coptic MSS., Arab historians, Christian writers, and a host of other sources of information. All these are minutely mentioned in the preface of Dr. Butler's work, which consists, with appendices and index, of more than 500 pages. The object of the author is to contribute to the elucidation of the history of the irruption of the Saracens and their conquest of Egypt, still dark and obscure. He has brought together the results of recent inquiry, testing Oriental authorities "one against another, and to set them in comparison with other groups of authorities, and so, by the light of research and criticism, to place the study of this period on a scientific basis." The author has executed his difficult task with admirable ability and success. His notes, though numerous, will be most useful and important to future students and historians in the same field of research.

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H. FROWDE; OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN  
CORNER, LONDON, E.C., 1903.

2. *The Bride's Mirror: A Tale of Domestic Life in Delhi Forty Years Ago*, by MAULAVI NAZIR AHMAD. Translated into English from the original Hindustani by G. E. WARD, B.C.S. (Retired). This interesting work should appeal alike to those who know the East by experience and to those who know it only in imagination. Looking at it from the latter point of view, one feels a certainty that here is "the real thing"—no fancy picture, tinged inevitably by Western ideas and prejudices (though full enough of local colour carefully laid on), but a simple page torn from the book of life in an Indian home. It has been widely read in the vernacular, and deserves to find as many readers in its English dress. Mainly written for the women of India, with the object of their greater intellectual development, it throws a brilliant light on their power and influence for good or evil, not only in the home, but far beyond that circle.

The story concerns itself chiefly with the lives of two sisters, and starts from the marriage of each—that first great crisis in a young girl's history. One sympathizes with the feelings of the bride transplanted into her husband's family (perhaps even a little with her failures in tact and patience). But Akbari's character proves to be altogether without backbone, and, drifting into misfortune after the first false step, she soon gets out of her depth, and is only recovered by Ashgari, the heroine of the story and the perfect woman, according to the writer's Eastern ideal. This girl possesses a brain as strong as it is subtle; a force of character which

moulds those around her; a power of logic and reasoning which is supposed not to exist among Western women, and a gift for tact and finesse which would have graced a salon of the *ancien régime*. Her encounters with various adversaries are amusingly described, and show her the possessor of a ready wit and a most enviable power of repartee. Her successful diplomacy in match-making, and, above all, her guidance of a not altogether satisfactory husband into the paths of prosperity, are beyond praise. The novel brims with detail: the religious duties are shown in their faithful observance; the housekeeping, cooking, and dressmaking scenes are extremely entertaining, and many little sidelights on Eastern life are thrown. We hear the tinkle of the bangles; we see the dishonest steward portrayed to the life; we notice the ceaseless care of the household stuff in a land where moth and rust corrupt very quickly; we are astonished at the indulgence in sweets on great occasions, and in pawn-leaf at all times. We leave Ashgari deep in schemes for the education of young girls in the higher branches of arithmetic, elocution, embroidery, and other sciences and arts suitable to their condition. The novel closes with an interesting disquisition, by the author, on his own philosophy of life. Truly a book worth remembering. It has been faithfully translated into clear and vigorous English by Mr. Ward. Idioms are given their nearest equivalents, and the right pronunciation of proper names is everywhere provided.—F.

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HENRY J. DRANE; SALISBURY SQUARE, LONDON, 1903.

3. *At Home in India*, by Mrs. HERBERT REYNOLDS.

It is interesting to note how, in recent years, English ladies who have passed the best years of their lives in India have taken to writing books about the land of their sojourn. Such persons have usually been the wives of gentlemen engaged in the service of the Government of India; they therefore have had special opportunities of becoming acquainted with the subjects on which they have felt prompted to write. The case proves that there is a side of Indian life which appeals specifically to the female intelligence and sentiment, and it must be admitted that the ladies who have felt drawn to write on these subjects have given full proof of their capacity to place before the world some aspects of Indian life which persons of the sterner sex are by nature not so well able adequately to represent. Male persons have more experience of the rougher side of life.

The present work has rather a personal and domestic interest. Its paragraphs, for the most part, are dated; it appears to consist of extracts from the author's diary. It was admittedly written with the view of perpetuating in her family the knowledge of the kind of life lived in India by the writer and her husband from 1856 and onwards. But this personal element notwithstanding, the work will prove deeply interesting reading to all who feel an interest in India, its people and affairs, and it will have an especial interest for young persons of either sex who contemplate spending their working years in that "Land of Regrets."

Almost anyone who can use a pen at all can write a diary. One has only to record the occurrences of each succeeding day, and the thing is

done : it requires no great intellectual gifts, no education, no pleasing flow of ideas, no consecutive thought. This is, in great measure, true, and yet the diary must have a sustained interest, or no one will care for it. It must be something more than a mere chronicle of the isolated details of daily life. The diary may be a faithful chronicle, and yet not be a vitalized personal biography. The present work is written in a style that at once secures credence, and the interest of the reader is sustained from the first page to the last. The obvious reason is this : the facts were written down while yet they were fresh in the every-day experience of the writer. She is the owner of a truthful and yet graphic style, which elicits one's interest, and at the same time prepossesses him in favour of the narrative and makes the picture live in the memory.

Such a story of daily life gives us, as might have been expected, peeps at Viceroys, Governors, and other persons in high and responsible positions. The diary of such a man as Mr. Reynolds (for such, in a sense, this volume is) is the official history of the men of his time. It is concerned with the ins and outs of the public life of himself, and many besides him. Very cordially can we recommend this volume ; it has some parts exceedingly graphic and some parts decidedly pathetic. No record of English life in that land is true that has not its deeply pathetic side. This work is written in a natural and chatty style that is altogether prepossessing ; it enlists the interest of the reader, and wins his confidence, and no book that we know of conveys a more vivid and truthful idea of "home life" in India.

The printing and the general get-up of the work are altogether admirable, and it will be a most suitable book to place in the hands of young persons of either sex for reading on the outward voyage.—B.

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KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LTD.; LONDON, 1903.

4. *Out of the East: Reveries and Studies in New Japan*, by LAFCADIO HEARN. This is a series of essays upon subjects relative to Japan. Like all this author's works, there lies a quiet, convincing charm in what he tells us. In the text will be found legends that no pen could better describe than his. Lafcadio Hearn has learnt the art of clothing the quaint customs and traditions of the land in a dreamy cloud of mystery and deep passionate appeal that savour of Eastern romance, both past and present.

*A Wish Fulfilled* is a beautiful chapter, and there is a powerful reverie on the subject of *Jiu-jutsu*, a moral and physical training peculiar to the people. Mr. Hearn attaches much importance to education, which he considers will manifestly affect the future of Japan. In his opinion, startling possibilities may be determined through the sustained influence of this hereditary training. Those who are interested in the struggle of the races, and in the question as to which may finally conquer, will find *Jiu-jutsu* worthy of attention. While Japan is so constantly brought under our notice, *Out of the East*, which is both romantic as well as serious, will prove a delightful little volume to possess and study.—S.

5. *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, by LAFCADIO HEARN. In two volumes. In this work is described the inner life of the Japanese, as well as the unfamiliar paths of their once isolated land. The author tells us by his power of word-painting what the old masters of the East interpreted with brush and pigments. There pervades through all these pages ghostly, dreamy, atmospheric effects, which constantly remind us of the pictures of the Korin and Ganku school.

There are old-world romances running through every chapter, in which either the tenets of an ancient faith form the theme, or some national characteristic of the race, centred round a living personality. Mr. Hearn has brought together wonderful legends, which do not savour, like the *Tales of Old Japan*, of gruesome deeds of revenge and bloodshed, but legends which are unique and fascinating, and leave upon the mind impressions soft and indefinite as a summer sunset.

"The Story of a Dancing Girl," "The Mirror and the Maiden," "The Death of a Student," are of this type. But Mr. Hearn is at his best while describing in some lonely and neglected temple courtyard stone gods and goddesses. These would otherwise be terrible to encounter, had he not glorified them with soft tints of lichen and seeding moss, and protected by the outstretched limbs of sturdy cryptomerias into whose natural form spirits themselves are supposed to have entered. Or they may be viewed by the light of floating feeble oil-lamps raised high above them, in gray stone lanterns, whose gleams almost supply halos of supernatural glory to the gods of Mercy, Laughter, and Death.

The author does not give you bald statistics; but for the seeking, these ugly and neglected household deities, encountered in solitary wayside shrines, or upon family altars, revive the memories of a vanishing faith that has been sufficient to sustain and ennoble the lives of the humblest peasant, as well as the most fervent patriot. All this is delineated to perfection, with such force of gentleness that you feel quite content to sit down and dream with Mr. Hearn for many an hour over the fairest "Isles of the Pacific Seas."

In fact, the contents of these volumes are a series of poems in prose, and although students might choose for study deeper and more serious books, a place for *Unfamiliar Japan* has been found in most libraries supplied with literature concerning the Land of the Gods.—S.

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LUZAC AND CO. ; LONDON, 1903.

6. *Indian Mythology according to the Mahābhārata*, by V. FAUSBÖLL. This work belongs to the "Oriental Religions" series, published by Messrs. Luzac. Readers of English works on India and its wisdom and literature are already aware of the existence of a considerable number of treatises on the subject of the mythology of the Hindūs. To this number Mr. Fausböll has added yet another volume. It differs from the other treatises in that it is limited to one work—the Mahābhārata—greatest of Indian epic poems; also, in that it contains a very large number of citations from the original, which the author gives in Sanskrit, and which he translates into English prose, transliterating the Sanskrit into English letters.

Throughout the work we note a curious misapprehension of the proper application of the English apostrophe sign. The author uses it as a symbol not of possession, but of pluralization! Thus, he represents the plural of "daitya," "asura," "aditya," etc., as "daitya's," "aditya's," etc. Such a method of pluralizing is not only unusual in English, it is abnormal as well, and as an attempt at explicitness it is quite superfluous. It is, moreover, as far as our knowledge of English goes, absolutely without precedent in present-day English. Nor is it that the author is altogether unaware of the normal English use of the apostrophe, for, as the sign of the case-possessive, he uses it correctly—as when he speaks of "Kashyapa's sons," "Indra's cow," "Kālidāsa's description," etc. We are not overlooking the fact that some foreign authors and printing-presses have ideas of their own as to the way in which our language ought to be written, but the matter upon which we now animadvert is a point of grammar, and to the English mind it affects the sense intended by an author.

At the end there is an index, principally of the names of persons and places mentioned in the course of the work, but not of the matters. This, however, is counterbalanced by a pretty full table of contents at the beginning. The work is not large; the actual work goes into less than 200 pages. It has, however, rather an air of incompleteness. We are not of opinion that every treatise on this great subject should be bulky; but about this work there is a certain abruptness of style, leaving the reader at a loss to know the proper remainder of that part of the story. But completeness in these particulars was, apparently, not a part of the author's plan; and we merely mention this feature of the work for the purpose of saying that this is not a first (or introductory) work on the subject of Indian Mythology, and that the reader will need to consult the other works to which we have made allusion if he desires a complete knowledge of any point of which he may chance to be in search. The work is, in fact, but a bird's-eye view of the Hindú Mythology, its effect being to show what all the different stages and periods of it have in common.

Will the author note that "f.i." (see p. 1) is not a recognised English abbreviation. But we weary of fault-finding; it ought not, however, to escape notice that the English combination "Xa" does not represent the sound of the Sanskrit equivalent of "Kṣa." The late esteemed Dr. Monier Williams's system of transliteration of the Sanskrit letters is very far from being a permanent settlement of the matter; it is anything but philosophical and satisfactory. But we will not at present investigate that complicated and much-disputed question.

Upon the whole this is a very learned work, and should be interesting—nay, will be found essential—to all English students of the Mahābhārat. It is a model of beautiful printing.—B.

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JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1903.

7. *My Colonial Service in British Guiana, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Fiji, Australia, Newfoundland, and Hong Kong, with Interludes*, by Sir G. WILLIAM DES VŒUX, G.C.M.G., with portraits and illustrations. In two volumes of about 400 pp. each. The illustrations of the two volumes include

a portrait of the author, of places visited, and a map of the Fiji Islands. The contents comprise an interesting biography of the author, and an account of a variety of scenes which are not familiar to the great majority of readers, and throw a striking light on various matters connected with the government and administration of especially our Crown colonies. In composing his interesting and valuable work, he found himself face to face with some difficulties. He says: "Many of the incidents of my official life have been not altogether to the credit of those who had part in them; and as they occurred, none of them less than twelve, and some nearly forty years ago, a considerable number of these persons are no longer living. A strict adherence to the *nil nisi bonum* principle would thus cause the omission of some of my principal difficulties; but in order to create as little heart-burning as possible from the revered memory of events for the most part forgotten, I have substituted letters, which are not the proper initials, for the names of those, whether alive or dead, of whom circumstances are related likely to be regarded as not altogether to their credit." He states, however, from his long and varied experience, that on the whole the officers in her late Majesty's service in the colonies "are a body of men of whom any nation might be proud, and that though living, as many of them do, in unhealthy climates, they do their work as faithfully, with an at least equal expenditure of time, as their more fortunate confrères at home." He tells his story with remarkable lucidity, accompanied with a good deal of humour, which may be read with much interest, profit, and pleasure. There is an admirable index of persons, places, scenes, incidents, and topics, described by the author.

8. *The Ideals of the East; with Special Reference to the Art of Japan*, by KAKUSU OKAKURA. The Japanese are beginning to extend our store of literature relative to their country by writing books themselves in English. The time is certainly going on since opportunities were first afforded them of studying European languages. The difficulties have been mastered with considerable ability.

"The Ideals of the East" is a scholarly history of the art of the nation, which had undergone various changes of perfection or retrogression by pressure brought to bear upon it, either by waves of religious enthusiasm or decadence, by political situations, critical or peaceful, as well as by inroad of foreign peculiarities of style and treatment. This latter influence was insidious in its potentiality long before Japan was thrown open to the Western world, and has of late forced itself upon the notice of individuals as well as communities, seeking by trial and test to gain notional perfection.

Mr. Okakura lays much emphasis on the value of Chinese culture and Indian religious thought, declaring first one and then the other a grand basis upon which many canons of art attained pre-eminence. But the greatest factor of all to the "race of Ama," with its invincible sway, was, and ever will be, the *Yamato Damashii*, or spirit of Old Japan, which holds the souls of the East spellbound, and ever did so, even in the days when the spiritual ruler was a mere puppet in the hands of active authorities.

The author must have laboured over our language. His style is wordy and stilted, difficult at times to follow, and still more difficult to impress

upon the memory ; his sentences are long. Greater simplicity in his essays would make his work more acceptable, particularly to those not previously initiated in the many subtle changes or the intricate analysis of both past and modern ideals of art.

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C. ARTHUR PEARSON, LTD. ; HENRIETTA STREET, LONDON, 1902.

9. *In Pursuit of the "Mad" Mullah : Service and Sport in the Somali Protectorate*, by CAPTAIN MALCOLM MCNEILL, D.S.O., Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. With a chapter by LIEUTENANT A. C. H. DIXON, West India Regiment. Those who take an interest in sport and soldiering, and those who wish to obtain a "bird's-eye view" of some portions of the comparatively little-known region "Somaliland," will do well to read this book. It is illustrated by a very good likeness of the author, and of many scenes derived from "photos" by the author himself. The object of the author is to give an account of the raising of the "Somali Levy" and of the subsequent operations against what is termed the "Mad" Mullah. Coupled with this he details the sport which he had with big and other game as leisure from his other duties permitted him. The preface contains a copy of the 1901 Somaliland Game Regulations, with the view of preserving "big game" in Africa. This will be useful to those who desire exciting sport in this part of the world. The book has additional interest in the fact that it was written day by day, as showing incidents which occurred under canvas, and more than one chapter while actually on the march. The chapter by Lieutenant A. C. H. Dixon, on the pursuit of the Mullah, completes one portion of the author's spirited narrative in his contact with the enemy. Our space does not allow us to give quotations. We must refer our readers to the book itself, which will amply repay those who may peruse it.

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SMITH, ELDER AND CO. ; 15, WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON, 1903.

10. *Chota Nagpore*, by F. B. BRADLEY-BIRT, B.A., I.C.S. This work is prefaced with an honoured name—its introduction is from the pen of Lord Northbrook. Should such a work ever be undertaken as a series of volumes on "The Viceroys of India," the story of this gentle and distinguished ruler should be among the most interesting and valuable of the series. That this unassuming but valued friend of India's millions should have consented to introduce this volume to public notice is of itself a recommendation of no ordinary kind.

We ought, however, to mention that this is rather a book for the general reader and for the drawing-room table and the circulating library than for the learned. There is not much in it for the scholar or the antiquary. The chapters are more like a series of newspaper articles, very interesting reading, but hardly a work of reference or an authority on the more recondite matters usually brought to light by intelligent Oriental research. Here and there one meets with an error of grammar (as "but" instead of "than," on p. 249) and an error of idiom (as "to while away the time," where we ought to have had "wile away," meaning "to beguile the time"). There are, as a matter of necessity, many Indian words in a work of this nature,

but in this feature of the work there is much to be desired. We know not what objection the author can have to writing "shrāddh" rather than "srad," "gaddi" instead of "gadi," and "sārhi" rather than "sāri," and thus guarding against a false pronunciation and the misguidance of the helpless "griff" into whose hands the book may fall. We are at a loss to imagine what Hindú paṇḍit can have taught the author to say "Porohit" and "Bhaghat," and yet he, presumably, passed the usual examinations of the Service. These are only a few instances—mere samples of errors appearing in the work. In a future edition such matters might receive more attention from the author, and thus might unscholarly blemishes be removed from what is, generally, a fairly written book.

The work is well printed, and has a pretty fair index, also a good legible map of the district. (By the way, why does the author call it "Chota" Nagpore? There is no such word as "Chota" in the language! Yet this curious blunder goes all through the book. Such are blots in what is otherwise a very capital book. To be sure, "the English reader knows no better," and "to a blind horse a wink is as good as a nod." Most true; but this is hardly the kind of subterfuge one expects from a mature and mellow Anglo-Indian!) There are photogravures in considerable number very faithfully and beautifully representing scenes in Hindú life. The book should have a good circulation.—B.

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SRINIVASA, VARADACHARI AND CO ; MADRAS, 1902.

II. *Sir A. Sashiah Sastri*, K.C.S.I., by B. V. KUMASHVARA AIYAR, M.A. In a previous number of this *Review* it was our pleasing duty to notice a work containing many brief biographical sketches of distinguished Indians. The work now before us is a work of the same nature; but as the entire volume (of more than 400 pages) is devoted to the life-story of one man, this is a much fuller sketch than any of those to which we refer. Our Indian friends seem quite disposed to perpetuate the memory of those of their fellow-countrymen who have distinguished themselves in the numerous branches of public life. They do well. It is encouraging to others—rising men, the men of the future. That it should be possible for men who, at the outset, have everything against them, whose early advantages are all drawbacks, to rise to positions of eminence, speaks wonders for their ability and their good sense; it also speaks well for the character of British ascendancy.

It ought not to be forgotten that many of India's distinguished sons have risen from the humbler classes. Though a Brahman by caste, and of most worthy parentage withal, it was only by dint of sheer hard work, personal excellence, and attention to the business of the hour, that the subject of this memoir developed at last into one of the most distinguished statesmen of our Empire in the East. Though possessed of great force of character, much practical common-sense, and the highly commendable quality of public spirit, he yet appears to be a man of most laudable modesty of disposition. It was only after repeated application on the part of his friends, capped at length by an urgent appeal to him by no less a

person than the Mahārāja of Travancore, that he could be prevailed upon to have such a sketch of his life placed before the public.

Sir Sashiah Sastri has, in rising from the ranks, held many offices of public trust. These were capped at last by his being appointed to the highly honoured post of member of the Legislative Council of the Government of Madras, his native Presidency. He is now arrived at the ripe age of seventy-six, and we take this opportunity of expressing the hope that he may long be spared to render much useful service to the Government and to the nation of which he has proved himself a distinguished ornament.

We are glad to be able to add that this work, printed in India, is rather better turned out of hand than those usually printed there. The compiler is a master of a good style of English. Many of the well-wishers of India at home will find it interesting reading, and we doubt not that in India the book will have a large circulation.—B.

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T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON, 1903.

12. *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, by J. CAMPBELL OMAN. This work is a study of "Sādhuism," and includes an account of the Yōgis, Sannyāsis, Vairāgis, and other strange Hindu sectaries. It is well fitted to disabuse the minds of those who are possessed of the popular error that wisdom (philosophical or religious) is peculiar to any European nation or race. It had its original home in the East, from whence (as we learn on the best authority), twenty centuries ago, "the wise men came." Nor do we know of any race, even in the mysterious East, amongst whom moral sentiment and philosophic thought have reached a higher degree of development than among the class of persons dealt with in this volume—the Indian mystics. Their whole lives, every day and all day long, have for nearly three thousand years been given up to the study and cultivation of abstract morality. Doubtless there are counterfeits among them—where are there not? But the European who censoriously appraises the Sādhu by his filthy and revolting exterior appraises him by a false standard. There are "good, bad, and indifferent" among Sādhus just as there are, alas! among religious devotees nearer home. But they are not all bad—not all. Nay, the very prestige affected by the frauds is but an evidence of the existence, somewhere, of the genuine. To anyone entering upon his life in India we would say: If you would discover the true inwardness of the Hindú religion of the present day, make a sympathetic study of the Sādhu. This will be the shortest cut in a very involved, difficult, and labyrinthine study. The men, when you come to know them, are not so frightening as they look. Many of them are thoughtful, refined, and accessible, and (with the exception, of course, of those of the Mowni class) generally conversable and communicative. But, highly sensitive themselves, and quite aware of what is due to the prestige of their Order, they have to be treated with respect, and with a certain deference in harmony with the public character of their religious profession. To treat them with scant respect *coram populo* is not only to forget the "honour" which every man owes to every other man, but also to jeopardize one's own prestige.

We have mentioned the word "Mowni" (prop. Mauni), a highly-interesting class of Indian mystics. It is curious, by the way, that the author of this volume says not a word about these, a class whose principal peculiarity is that they take *vows of silence*. It is, when one comes to know it, one of the most weird things in the entire realm of asceticism, in any age, or in any land or race. Perhaps we shall learn more about them in a future edition.

Some stages of Hindú sanctity require that the Sádhu should not feed himself. He is in such stages well provided for by the devotees of his sect, and is usually fed by Hindú women, who place the choicest morsels they can afford into his mouth with their own right-hand fingers. This will account for the sleek and well-nourished appearance of many of the ascetics, whose pictures are presented in this volume.

The confounding of the Paramhansas with the Aghorpanthi sect is not really so unnatural as appears (see pp. 164-166). The Paramhansa is *above law*, and the Aghorpanthi is also above law in the sense that, inasmuch as everything in existence is but a manifestation in some sort of the "universal soul," nothing can be ceremonially "unclean." There is, thus, a kind of identity of sentiment between these two sects. The difference between them, however, is this: that the Paramhansa disregards *moral* distinctions, whence, to *him*, there is no such thing as "sinning," while the Aghorpanthi disregards *physical* distinctions, whence, to *him*, every kind of food is ceremonially "pure," all which is but a misreading of the words of a Bible writer: "To him that deemeth a thing to be 'unclean,' to him it *is* 'unclean.'" To what lengths of moral offensiveness the Paramhansa is at liberty to go we must not here specify; and, as to the Aghorpanthi, it is impossible to conceive of greater uncleanness in the matter of *eating* than the lengths to which he habitually and by preference goes, and, apparently, without revulsion. On this revolting subject the author very properly draws the line at the right place.

Upon the whole this work of Mr. Oman's is the most informing and the most trustworthy of which we have any knowledge. It contains numerous illustrations showing the various bodily attitudes and contortions of the different Orders of Indian ascetics. These attitudes, most of them extremely painful, are assumed under vows, which vows the ascetics are under obligation to keep for a specified term of years, usually for the cycle of twelve. It is not a work for the learned; if it were we might have a good deal to say by way of fault-finding. But, as a popular account of the Hindú ascetics, it is as good an introduction to this curious subject for the ordinary English reader as anything we have yet met with. It is, moreover, carefully printed, and has a fairly good index and table of contents.—B.

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T. FISHER UNWIN, LONDON; G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK, 1903.

13. *Buddhist India*, by DR. RHYS DAVIDS. We have here another of the now numerous and instructive volumes of the "Story of the Nations" series, and it must be admitted that, for learned research and all the good qualities that characterize that series of productions, the present volume sustains the reputation of its predecessors.

The work presents in historical form the story of the rise, prevalence, and decline of Buddhism in India. It does not pretend to be the final word on the subject; rather it is a contribution by the aid of which future treatises on the subject may be compiled, for we have not obtained as yet all the materials that are necessary for a complete, exhaustive, and final account of the subject. Such materials are, however, occasionally and little by little being brought to light, now by means of manuscripts, now by rock inscriptions, now by dilapidated images, and now by crumbling or buried ruins. Much has yet to be done in the way of discovery before some future "Gibbon" of Buddhism shall be in a position to build up that monumental work that will trace the weird story from its origin, and set at rest for ever the problems of its controversies and schools, and the mystery of its doctrines. All this is recognised by the author of this volume.

Beginning with the subject of the ancient Kings and Governments of India, and describing the various nationalities and political systems which obtained there, the author proceeds to show the gradual preparation of the times for the appearing of the Buddha and for the growth and marvellous spread of his teaching. We have chapters on the town and village communities, tracing the commercial and family life of the people, their social grades and economic conditions, the rise and progress of literature—beginning with the origin of the art of alphabetical writing—and the rise and development of early religious cults—Brahminism and Buddhism. The illustrations are very numerous and are beautifully executed, including photogravures of coins, temples, inscriptions, landscapes, and the rest. The work closes with an appendix, containing a learned account of ancient coins and an elaborate and painstaking index. Altogether it is a model of a handbook of Buddhism.

The work will be of interest in particular to students of Indian subjects and of Buddhistic history and dogma, also of the personality of the Buddha and of his adherents, who have made their mark in connection with the system from the first onwards. Very little is really known for certain as yet respecting the details of Buddha's personal history. It is evident that he was a genuine reformer, philanthropist, and mystic.

When we say that this work, as regards the printing and general get-up, is of a piece with the other volumes of the series, we give it all the praise which printer and publisher could desire.—B.

#### SHANGHAI CATHOLIC MISSION.

14. *Variétés Sinologiques: No. 22, Histoire du Royaume de Tch'ou (1122—223 av. J.-C.)*, by LE P. ALBERT TSCHÉPE, S.J.; *No. 23, Nankin d'Alors et d'Aujourd'hui: Aperçu Historique et Géographique*, by LE (FEU) P. LOUIS GAILLARD, S.J. Avec 17 cartes hors texte, 29 photogravures, 7 photolithographies et plusieurs gravures sur bois.—*La Chine Géographique Générale à l'Usage des Écoles Françaises*, by LE P. STANISLAS LE GALL, S.J. The above three works have all been printed at the Shanghai Catholic Mission (Tuséwé Orphanage). The hand of Death, with his remorseless sickle, has played havoc of late with the flower of Jesuit sinology and science. PP. Havret, Heude, Gaillard, and Zottoli, all

carried off within a couple of years. Vigils and fasting have as much to do with this waste of life as Providential causes, and it will be noticed that "a chill" is almost always the cause of death in this spiritual circle. Prayer and self-denial are all very well in moderation, but, really, the regulars of Shanghai need some one more practical than themselves to look after their bodily welfare. As to the three works now under notice—thorough-going studies of 400, 300, and 150 large pages respectively—they are perhaps too specialized for popular requirements. None the less, they are of profound value as works of reference to all serious students. The history of Ch'u throws a very vivid light upon the struggle for supremacy between the different States of Chinese race. The history of Nanking almost exhausts all that there is to be said about the development of that celebrated city, dynasty by dynasty. Not the least interesting part is the antiquarian information, supplemented by several highly artistic plates. The late Père Gaillard's own photography lends a modern interest to a very old story. Père Le Gall's geography is apparently intended as much for Chinese students (who are, as a rule, supremely ignorant of Chinese topography) as for foreigners; but even for the latter it is a compendious and valuable description of China in detail, and of how China is ruled and taxed.—E. H. PARKER.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*On a Collection of Coins from Malacca*, by R. HANITSCH, PH.D., Curator of the Raffles Museum, Singapore; with two plates. Reprinted from *The Journal*, Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore. Printed at the American Mission Press, Singapore, 1903. The author gives a very interesting account of the discovery of these coins, described under (1) Asiatic; (2) European; (a) Portuguese; and (b) Dutch, French, English. The plates are exceedingly well executed. The pamphlet, which is well printed and tastefully got up, gives a side-light on the history of Malacca.

*Shakespeare's "Othello" and the Crash of Character*, by W. MILLER, C.I.E., D.D., LL.D., Principal of the Madras Christian College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras. Published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade Row, Madras. A very able analysis of the characters in this famous play from a Christian point of view. There is also a portrait of the author, who is well known in Scotland, and had as a student a brilliant career in New College, Edinburgh.

*History of the Tamil Language*, by V. G. SURYANARAYANA SASTRIAR, B.A., Head Tamil Pandit, Madras Christian College, with an English introduction by the Rev. F. W. KELLETT, M.A., Professor of History at the same institution (G. A. Natesan and Co., printers, Esplanade, Madras, 1903). Such a history is a desideratum, and constitutes a valuable contribution to philology.

*The People's Edition: Chambers's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, Pronouncing, Explanatory, Etymological*, edited by ANDREW FINDLATER, M.A., LL.D. (W. and R. Chambers, Limited, London and Edinburgh, 1903). This is an entirely new edition of Messrs. Cham-

bers' well-known Etymological Dictionary. It embraces all words which have occurred recently in the historical history of the English language. Full explanations are given, most useful to the student. A glossary of obsolete and rare words and meanings in *Milton's Poetical Works*, of prefixes and suffixes, a table of divisions of the Aryan languages, the etymology of names of places, etc.; words and phrases from the Latin, the Greek and modern foreign languages; pronunciation of Scripture proper names; a select list of mythological and classical names, and other useful items of information. Pronunciation of words is given phonetically without the ordinary marks or references, in a cheap and handy form. The work is clearly printed, and is a very valuable *vade mecum* to any student of the English language.

*Land Problems in India.* Papers by Mr. ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, C.I.E., DEWAN BAHADUR R. RAGOONATH RAO, the Hon. Mr. GOCULDAS K. PAREKH, the Hon. RAI BAHADOOR, B. K. BOSE, Mr. GANJAM VENCATARATNAM. Also resolutions of the Government of India, and summaries of the views of various local governments, and other important official papers (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras). The publishers have done well in reproducing in a handy form the above important papers regarding our Land Revenue policy in India, and its bearing on economic conditions of the ryots.

*Notes on the Somali Language, with Examples of Phrases and Conversational Sentences*, by J. W. C. KIRK, B.A. CAMB., Lieutenant, King's African Rifles (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen Corner, E.C. New York: 92 and 93, Fifth Avenue, 1903). This is a most handy little book, made up in khaki cloth in the form of a small pocket-book. During the author's campaign, in raising and training some of the Somali levy companies, he noted down phrases and words common among the men both on and off duty. Such a collection of conversational phrases and words will prove most useful to travellers and military officers.

*Imperial India. Letters from the East*, by JOHN OLIVER HOBBS (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1903). The contents of this pleasing little book, by the well-known writer, contains chapters on the voyage to Delhi to the Durbar, the Coronation Durbar, reflections on the same, the State ball, his visit to Calcutta and other places, the Delhi programme, and the list of guests in the Viceroy's camp. His impressions of womankind, who were to be present at the Durbar, on board the *Arabia*, are amusing and interesting.

*Travel Sketches in Egypt and Greece*, by SEIMMAL EISROH (London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1903). A beautifully well-got-up book, both in its numerous illustrations and in its letterpress descriptions. The illustrations form the backbone of the descriptions of the places, persons, and scenes which came under the author's observation in her travels in Egypt and Greece. Travellers in those countries will find the work a most delightful and useful *vade-mecum*.

*A Map of the Dominion of Canada, 1903*, issued by direction of the Hon. CLIFFORD SIFTON, Minister of the Interior, from latest information furnished by JAMES WHITE, F.R.G.S., Geographer, Department of the Interior,

Ottawa, Canada. This is a large and well-constructed library map, from which, at a glance, one can see the vast territory of the Canadian Dominion. The map is also well illustrated by various scenes of buildings in the capital towns, and of agricultural and other industries in the Dominion. The map ought to be in every standard and free library in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

*Sri Sankaracharya*: I. *His Life and Times*, by C. N. KRISHNASAMI AIYAR, M.A., L.T., Assistant, Native College, Coimbatore. II. *His Philosophy*, by PANDIT SITANATH TATTVA BHUSHAN, author of "Hindu Theism" (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade). A short and very readable work on the life, times, and philosophy of Sankara.

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(published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Imperial Institute Journal* (London: Waterlow and Sons);—*Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, July, 1903, with a supplement (Simla: Government Central Printing-Office);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1902);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl, vol. vii, part i. (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London);—*The Swiss, Aix-les-Bains and Nice Times* (Geneva: Printing Office, Charles Zoellner);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de Politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*Satvotpatti Vinischaya and Nirvāna Vibhāga*. Compiled by M. Dnarmaratna, editor of the "Lakminipahana," etc. Translation. Also *Buddhistic Essays referring to the Abhidharma* (Observer Office, Colombo; Luzac and Co., London, 1902).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone the notice of the following works: *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, translated and edited, with notes, by Colonel Sir Henry Yule, R.E., C.B., K.C.S.I., Corr. Inst., France. Third edition, revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henri Cordier (of Paris), Professor of Chinese History at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes; Vice-President of the Geographical Society of Paris; Member of Council of the Société Asiatique, etc.; with a memoir of Henry Yule by his daughter Amy Francis Yule, L.A. SOC., ANT. SCOT., etc. In two volumes, with maps and illustrations (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1903);—*L'Inde*, by Pierre Loti, of the Académie Française (Paris, Calmaun-Levy, éditeurs, rue Auber 3);—*The Diary of a Turk*, by Halil Halid, M.A., M.R.A.S., containing eight illustrations (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903);—*The Persian Problem*, by H. J. Whigham; an examination of the rival positions of Russia and Great Britain in Persia, with some account of the Persian Gulf and the Baghdad Railway (London: Isbister and Company, Ltd., 15 and 16, Tavistock

Ottawa, Canada. This is a large and well-constructed library map, from which, at a glance, one can see the vast territory of the Canadian Dominion. The map is also well illustrated by various scenes of buildings in the capital towns, and of agricultural and other industries in the Dominion. The map ought to be in every standard and free library in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

*Sri Sankaracharya* : I. *His Life and Times*, by C. N. KRISHNASAMI AIYAR, M.A., L.T., Assistant, Native College, Coimbatore. II. *His Philosophy*, by PANDIT SITANATH TATTVABHUSHAN, author of "Hindu Theism" (Madras : G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade). A short and very readable work on the life, times, and philosophy of Sankara.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications : *Annual Report of the Reformatory School at Yeravda for the year 1902* (Bombay : Printed at the Government Central Press, 1903) ;—*Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii., part 1. (On sale at Seoul, Korea : Hon. Librarian ; Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore : Kelly and Walsh, Ltd. ; London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd. ; Paris : Ernest Leroux) ;—*Commercial Convention between the United Kingdom and Persia, signed at Tehran, February 9, 1903* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, East Harding Street, Fleet Street, E.C.) ;—*The Anglo-Japanese Gazette* : a monthly review, devoted to the commercial and social interests of the British Empire and Japan (The Japan Press, 39, Seething Lane, London, E.C.) ;—*Äthiopiens Aussenhandel und der österreichische Export*, Von Friedrich J. Bieber (Vienna : Verlag des Niederösterreichischen Gewerbevereines ; Druck von Otto Maass' Söhne, Wien, 1902) ;—*Die Wirtschaftliche Erschliessung Äthiopiens und der österreichische Export*, Von Friedrich J. Bieber (Vienna, 1903 : Im Selbstverlage des Verbandes) ;—*Tharshish und Ophir*, Von Gustav Oppert (Berlin : Verlag von Julius Springer, 1903) ;—*Indian Universities Commission*. Letters addressed to the *Times of India* on the Vice-Chancellor's vindication of its recommendations, by Chimanlal H. Setalvad, B.A., LL.B., Fellow and Syndic, Bombay University ; also *Revival of " Village Organization,"* by Lalubhai Samaldas (Bombay : *Times of India* Press, 1903) ;—*The Collector's Circular*, weekly (Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd., 23, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.) ;—*The Truth about the Egypt Exploration Fund*. The singular reorganization of the American branch, by William Copley Winslow, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., late Vice-President and Honorary Secretary (Boston, 1903) ;—George Newnes, Ltd. : *The Captain*, July, August, September ;—*The Sunday Strand*, July, August, September ;—*The Strand Magazine*, July, August, September ;—*The Wide World Magazine*, July, August, September ;—*The Century Book of Gardening*, parts 1-12 ;—*Secrets of Monte Carlo*, by W. Lequex ;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.) ;—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London : A. Constable and Co.) ;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras) ;—*The Madras Review* ;—*The Review of Reviews*

(published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Imperial Institute Journal* (London: Waterlow and Sons);—*Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, July, 1903, with a supplement (Simla: Government Central Printing-Office);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabricis* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1902);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl, vol. vii., part i. (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London);—*The Swiss, Aix-les-Bains and Nice Times* (Geneva: Printing Office, Charles Zoellner);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de Politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*Satvotpatti Vinischaya and Nirvāna Vibhāga*. Compiled by M. Dnarmaratna, editor of the "Lakminipahana," etc. Translation. Also *Buddhistic Essays referring to the Abhidharma* (Observer Office, Colombo; Luzac and Co., London, 1902).

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We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone the notice of the following works: *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, translated and edited, with notes, by Colonel Sir Henry Yule, R.E., C.B., K.C.S.I., Corr. Inst., France. Third edition, revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henri Cordier (of Paris), Professor of Chinese History at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes; Vice-President of the Geographical Society of Paris; Member of Council of the Société Asiatique, etc.; with a memoir of Henry Yule by his daughter Amy Francis Yule, L.A. SOC., ANT. SCOT., etc. In two volumes, with maps and illustrations (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1903);—*L'Inde*, by Pierre Loti, of the Académie Française (Paris, Calmaun-Levy, éditeurs, rue Auber 3);—*The Diary of a Turk*, by Halil Halid, M.A., M.R.A.S., containing eight illustrations (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903);—*The Persian Problem*, by H. J. Whigham; an examination of the rival positions of Russia and Great Britain in Persia, with some account of the Persian Gulf and the Baghdad Railway (London: Isbister and Company, Ltd., 15 and 16, Tavistock

Street, Covent Garden, 1903);—*The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, being Babylonian and Assyrian Incantations against the Demons, Ghouls, Vampires, Hobgoblins, Ghosts, and Kindred Evil Spirits which Attack Mankind*, translated from the original cuneiform texts, with transliterations, vocabulary, notes, etc., by R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities, British Museum. Vol. i., "Evil Spirits" (Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation series, vol. xiv.) (London: Luzac and Co., 1903);—*A Search for the Masked Twareks*, by W. J. Harding King, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., with forty-one illustrations and a map (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1903);—*Progress of British Empire in the Century* (the Nineteenth Century series), by J. Stanley Little, also *The Progress of Australasia in the Nineteenth Century*, by T. A. Coghlan and T. T. Ewing, with which are incorporated, by permission of the Government of New South Wales and the other principal colonies, certain statistics and other matter prepared for the official publications (The Linscott Publishing Company, Toronto and Philadelphia; W. and R. Chambers, Ltd., London and Edinburgh, 1903);—*Service and Sport on the Tropical Nile: Some Records of the Duties and Diversions of an Officer among Natives and Big Game during the Re-occupation of the Nilotic Province*, by Captain C. A. Sykes, R.H.A., with a map and illustrations from photographs and from drawings made by Major E. A. P. Hobday, R.F.A. (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1903);—*New Lays of Ind: Personal Reminiscences of an Indian Civilian*, by Aleph Ré (London: Thomas Burleigh, 376 and 377, Strand, 1903);—*Le Messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie musulmane*, by E. Blochet (Paris: Librairie Orientale et Americaine, J. Maisonneuve, éditeur, 6, Rue de Mezières et rue Madame 26, 1903);—The Ancient East (five parts): No. 1, *The Realms of the Egyptian Dead*, by K. A. Wiedemann, PH.D.; No. 2, *The Tell el Amarna Period*, by Carl Niebuhr; No. 3, *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis*, by H. Zimmern, PH.D.; No. 4, *The Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell*, by Alfred Jeremias, PH.D.; No. 5, *Popular Literature in Ancient Egypt*, by A. Wiedemann, PH.D. (London: David Nutt, 57-59, Long Acre, 1902).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—His Excellency Lord Curzon has decided to accept the offer of H.M. Government for the extension of his term of office to another two years. This news has been received with universal satisfaction in India.

Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of Bombay in succession to Lord Northcote, who has been appointed Governor-General of the Australian Commonwealth.

The proposal of the Government to attach the Berars to the Central Provinces, for administrative purposes, has received the sanction of the Secretary of State.

The Irrigation Commission has issued a report proposing an outlay of forty-four crores of rupees, extending over twenty years, on protective works.

A new  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. loan of two crores of rupees has been floated upon the same terms as those which applied to a similar loan 1900-1901. This loan will not be liable to discharge before the end of 1920.

The imports of India for the year 1902-1903 amounted to Rs. 104,04,36,358, and the exports to Rs. 137,62,63,756. Trade for the same period showed an increase of £5,050,100. The Indian revenue receipts up to the end of July amounted to 2,458 lacs, as compared with 2,366 lacs in the corresponding period of last year.

Beneficial rains have fallen all over India.

Plague mortality increased during August owing to the growth of the malady in the Western and Southern districts.

All the famine relief works have been closed in the Central Provinces.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—A well-known figure in connection with frontier troubles, Umra Khan of Jandul, has died at Peshawar.

The *personnel* of the Sikkim Tibet Frontier Commission, which has been appointed to settle questions of frontier trade, is under the Commissionship of Major Younghusband, with Mr. Claude White as Joint Commissioner. The Mission is still sitting, and is awaiting the arrival of responsible Chinese and Tibetan officials.

The Khan of Khelat has leased in perpetuity lands in his territory called the Nasirabad Niabat, and a tract known as Manjuti, for a yearly rental of 1,17,500 rupees. The Niabat is 500 square miles in extent, and the Manjuti lands 250 square miles.

INDIA : NATIVE.—His Highness the Raja of Nabha generously offered the services of his Imperial Service Lancers for employment in the Somaliland Campaign, or in case of refusal, asked for permission to contribute four lacs towards the expenses. The Government has declined, with thanks, both offers, expressing at the same time their appreciation of His Highness's loyalty.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur has received a *kharita* from the Bombay Government restoring to His Highness full sovereign powers over his feudatories. These powers since 1862 have been exercised by the Political Agent.

The Political Agent of Mahi Kantha, at a darbar held at Idar Ahmednagar, handed to His Highness Major-General Sir Partapsingji, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., LL.D., etc., the Maharaja of Idar, portraits of the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress, the gifts of His Majesty.

The Maharaja of Jaipur, on behalf of the Maharani, has given a lac of rupees to the Indian People's Famine Fund, and the Maharaja of Burdwan has contributed 10,000 rupees to the same fund.

The services of Sir David Barr, the Resident of Haidarabad, have been retained till the end of March next.

**BURMA.**—The Government has recognised, for the first time since the annexation of Upper Burma, the Buddhist hierarchy, with the Taunggyin Sadaw as its head. This has given great satisfaction to the people. His ecclesiastical jurisdiction will be confined to Upper Burma.

**CEYLON.**—Sir H. A. Blake, Governor of Hong Kong, has been appointed Governor of Ceylon in succession to Sir West Ridgeway, whose term of office shortly expires.

**BALUCHISTAN.**—The British Mission under Colonel McMahon, which has been settling the dispute between the Persians and Afghans in Sistan regarding the Helmand watershed, will terminate their labours shortly and return to Quetta. Four natives of India employed by the Mission died from thirst near the Dasht-i-Marg.

**AFGHANISTAN.**—In order to facilitate access to the Mohmand country, where the Amir's authority appears to be weak, His Highness is having a bridge constructed over the Kabul river near Dakka.

**PERSIA.**—At the end of last June the city and province of Yezd was the scene of very serious disturbances, which culminated, after a fortnight's rioting, with attacks, as reported, on the Babis, instigated by Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim, a *mujtahid*. Houses belonging to Babis were searched and looted, women maltreated, and males massacred with much cruelty.

Russian trade with Persia is still increasing. Caravans consisting of waggons and Russian drivers have reached Nasratabad (Sistan), *via* Meshed. This will greatly affect the British Indian trade *via* Quetta and Nushki, which has, owing to the new Persian Customs dues, shown a great falling off for the past year.

Mr. George Churchill has been appointed Acting Oriental Secretary to the British Legation, Mr. Herbert Richards to be Vice-Consul at Teheran, and Mr. Thomas G. Grahame Consul at Shiraz.

**TURKEY IN ASIA.**—The Armenian monastery of Surp Agop, near Erzingân, has been pillaged by Kurds.

The first section of the Baghdad railway was begun at Konia on July 27.

**RUSSIA IN ASIA.**—The Amur and Kwantung territories have been constituted into a special Viceroyalty. Vice-Admiral Alexieff has been

appointed the first Viceroy of the Far East, with supreme authority over the civil, military, and naval administrations.

An arrangement has been arrived at between the Russian Government and the Amir of Bokhārā whereby the finances of that country will be placed under complete Russian control, and Bokharan money struck only at the St. Petersburg mint.

CHINA.—Sir Henry Satow resumed his duties in Peking on August 21, after an absence of nine months, during which time Mr. Townley has acted for him.

The ratifications of the Anglo-Chinese commercial treaty were exchanged on July 28.

It is stated that Russia will not permit China to make any engagement with other Powers regarding Manchuria, which may embarrass her in the future. There are as yet no signs of the evacuation.

The Chinese Government have decided to meet the requirements of the United States and Japan in regard to the opening of Manchurian ports by opening Mukden and Ta-Kung-Kau to foreign trade on October 8.

The disturbances in the province of Kwang-Si were caused by large numbers of unpaid troops, who joined themselves to the turbulent element on the southern frontiers, and organized bands, which preyed on the trade of the province.

Sir Matthew Nathan, R.E., K.C.M.G., Governor of the Gold Coast, has been appointed to be Governor of HONG KONG in succession to Sir Henry Blake, G.C.M.G.

KOREA.—The domestic condition of the country is fairly prosperous, and Japan is increasing her position of commercial predominance.

JAPAN.—Negotiations have been in progress for some time between Russia and Japan on the Korean and Manchurian questions, regarding which great excitement prevails in the country.

The Government has made it a rule that every foreign insurance company carrying on business in Japan must deposit 100,000 yen before the end of this month (October). Over sixty companies are concerned.

The trade of the country during the seven months ending last July shows an increase of £4,171,000 in the imports, and £1,822,000 in the exports.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES.—The total revenue for 1902 amounted to \$20,550,544. The total expenditure was \$15,986,247. The volume of trade for the same year was \$117,107,484, which at 1s. 8d. = £9,758,957.

EGYPT.—All the water stored during the winter in the Assuan reservoir for summer consumption has been completely discharged. A largely increased area of cotton has been irrigated. The manipulation of the discharge reflects great credit on Mr. Webb, the Director-General of Reservoirs, and his staff.

SOMALILAND.—Major-General Sir C. Egerton has been appointed to command the Expeditionary Force now being organized. His Staff Officers are Major Stanton, D.S.O., R.A., and Captain C. O. Swanston, D.S.O. General Egerton has made a tour of inspection through the lines of communication. The advance will begin from Burao, the base, through

Olesan and Shember Berris. Stores have been pushed up to Kerritt. The Mulla is reported to be in the Nogal Valley, where there is pasture all the year round.

The Political Agent at Aden has made an important capture of munitions of war destined for the Somali coast. The principal sources of supply have been traced to France and England.

The Abyssinians will again co-operate with our troops.

UGANDA.—Sleeping sickness is again prevalent in the country. The fly which carries the disease has been discovered, but as yet no antidote has been found.

RHODESIA.—The expenditure for the year amounted to £740,000, and the revenue to £513,000.

Mpondera, a Mashona chief, who for three years has been in open rebellion against the Chartered Company, has surrendered.

NATAL.—A new Ministry has been constituted as follows: Mr. Sutton, Premier and Treasurer; Mr. Maydon, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Watt, Minister of Justice; Mr. J. Baynes, Minister of Lands and Works; Mr. Leuchars, Secretary for Native Affairs; and Mr. Clayton, Minister of Agriculture.

The trade of the colony for the first six months of 1903 was—imports, £8,695,000, against £7,276,000 in the corresponding period of 1902; and exports, £490,000—against £494,000 in 1902.

TRANSVAAL.—Sir Arthur Lawley, the Lieutenant-Governor, has been appointed High Commissioner during the absence of Lord Milner on leave. He proceeded home via Lorenzo Marquez.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The imports for the quarter ended March 31 last amounted to £622,482, as compared with £363,823 in 1902. The exports amounted to £94,646, as compared with £4,800 in the corresponding period of 1902.

Lord Milner opened the Inter-Colonial Council at Johannesburg on July 2.

The Budget for the financial year estimated the railway revenue at £2,350,000; Constabulary, £1,520,000. £600,000 of the deficit was apportioned to the Transvaal, and the remainder to this colony. The Transvaal revenue would fully cover the contribution.

The guaranteed loan of £35,000,000 will be allocated as follows: To previous liabilities £6,000,000, with the first year's deficit of the Transvaal £1,500,000, the debt of the late Republic £2,500,000, and compensation to loyalists in Cape Colony and Natal £2,000,000; to the acquisition of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony railways £14,000,000; to repatriation and compensation in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony £5,000,000; to new development £10,000,000.

A commission has been appointed to inquire into the amount of labour required for mining and other industries of the Transvaal, and to ascertain whether an adequate supply can be obtained from Central and Southern Africa.

CAPE COLONY.—In the House of Assembly Mr. Merriman's motion expunging the vote of £10,000 towards the representation of the colony

at the forthcoming St. Louis Exposition was carried by forty-six votes to twenty-eight.

The imports for the year ending June 30 amounted in value to £37,594,143, as against £27,752,863 in the preceding year. The exports were £22,850,198, as against £12,693,756. Gold represents nearly 7,000,000 of the increase.

In 1893 the total trade amounted to £11,539,987, whilst in 1902 it was £34,220,500.

Both Houses of the Cape Parliament were dissolved on September 8. Requisitions for the Legislative must be lodged by October 7. Elections will then follow.

WEST AFRICA: NORTHERN NIGERIA.—On July 27 a successful attack was made on the town of Burni, which was completely destroyed after severe fighting. The ex-Sultan of Sokoto, nearly all his chiefs, and some 700 followers were killed. The British loss was 11 killed, including Major Marsh, 72 wounded, including Captains Brown and Lewis and Major Plummer. The force consisted of 30 white men, 500 rank and file, four Maxim guns, and two 75 mm. guns.

Mr. John Pickersgill Rodger, C.M.G., British Resident of Perak, in the Federated Malay States, will succeed Sir Matthew Nathan as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the GOLD COAST.

The CONGO expedition of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine sent out by the King of the Belgians, left Southampton on September 4.

AUSTRALASIA: THE COMMONWEALTH.—Lord Northcote, the Governor of Bombay, has been appointed to the Governor-Generalship of the Commonwealth.

The revenue for last year was: Customs and Excise, £9,681,000, being £640,000 above the estimate; postal, £2,445,000; and the expenditure: Customs, £270,000; defence, £743,000, being £103,000 below the estimate; Post-office, £2,571,000, being £195,000 below the estimate. The total amount returned to the States was £8,200,000, or £880,000 above the estimate.

The Commonwealth Senate at Melbourne has passed the Naval Agreement Bill, which provides for a colonial contribution of £200,000 a year for ten years to the Imperial Navy.

The Inter-State Conference of Protectionist Associations is in favour of preferential trade on the basis of the existing tariff, without interfering with colonial protection. Any British proposals tending to reasonable reciprocity would be welcomed.

The Ministry has been reconstructed: Mr. Irvine, the Premier, has resigned the portfolio of Attorney-General, but retains the Premiership and the portfolio of the Treasury. Mr. Davies, the Solicitor-General, becomes Attorney-General; and Mr. Sachse, Minister without portfolio, Minister of Education.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The ordinary revenue returns for the year amount to £11,522,133; other and adjustment votes, £845,245. Expenditure, ordinary, £11,410,948; other and adjustment, £1,214,005. The deficit balance is £484,355; a surplus, however, of over £300,000 is

anticipated in the coming year. Loans for expenditure on public works amount to £4,802,752.

VICTORIA.—The revenue for the past year amounted to £6,951,980, while the expenditure was approximately £6,798,781. The balance returned from the Commonwealth shows an increase of £184,000.

Agricultural prospects are very satisfactory, abundant rains having fallen both in the autumn and winter.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue for the past financial year amounted to £3,526,500. The expenditure was £3,717,800. The Treasurer has estimated the revenue for the current year at £3,680,000. The condition and prospects of the State are encouraging.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The Court of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration consists of a president and four members appointed by the Governor-General for a period of seven years. There are stringent provisions for the prevention of strikes and lock-outs, the penalties including two months' imprisonment and a fine of £500.

The estimated financial surplus for the year is £200,000.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Mr. Butler, the Treasurer, in his Budget speech said that the revenue met the expenditure for the past year after £78,000 had been transferred for the redemption of the Public Debt. The current year's expenditure provided for £87,000 for further redemptions. The outlook was very encouraging. The revenue for the past year was £2,483,095, and the expenditure amounted to £2,482,919. The estimated revenue for the coming year is £2,498,265, and expenditure £2,483,095.

TASMANIA.—The Hon. Sir John Stokell Dodds, K.C.M.G. (Chief Justice), has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the State of Tasmania.

NEW ZEALAND.—The Budget shows an increase in the revenue of £84,000. Public and private wealth is estimated at £350,000,000. The public debt amounts to £55,000,000, and the credit balance is £570,000. The receipts for the five months ending August 31 was nearly a quarter of a million in excess of those for the corresponding period of last year—viz., £2,396,000, against £2,149,000. The Customs show an increase of £140,000; railways, £75,000; and stamps, £40,000.

CANADA.—The rush to the newly-discovered gold-fields in the North-West of Alaska promises to exceed the famous Yukon rush of a few years ago.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The revenue for the fiscal year amounted to £2,200,000.

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*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following:—Veterinary Captain William Edward Russell, in Somaliland (Nile expedition 1898);—Baron de Hochepped (formerly of the Indian Police);—Inspector-General of Hospitals Michael Waistell Cowan, M.D., R.N., retired (Black Sea);—Major H. B. Rowlands, 2nd Battalion King's African Rifles, of wounds in Somaliland (Transvaal 1901-02);—Colonel Edmund John Tremlett, late R.A. (Zulu war 1879);—Colonel Edward Talfrey Christie, late Army Service Corps (New Zealand war 1865-66, Zululand 1888);—General C. R. West Hervey, C.B., late Head of the

Thuggee and Dacoity Suppression Department in India (Mangalore and Canara expeditions 1837, Upper Sind and Baluchistan 1840-42, Persian expedition 1856-57, Mutiny campaign 1858);—Rev. Dr. Langham, for forty years a Wesleyan Missionary in Fiji;—Major-General C. Ferguson Sharpe, late District Commissioner of Police in Oude (Mutiny campaign 1858);—Lord de Vesci, formerly of the Coldstream Guards (Egypt 1882);—Surgeon-General Archibald Henry Fraser, late of the A.M.D. (Mutiny 1857-58);—Dr. Anthonisz, C.M.G., a well-known surgeon of Ceylon;—Sir Samuel Lewis, C.M.G., a distinguished West African;—Sardar Muhammad Abdullah Khan, C.I.E., head of the Khans of Isa-Khel Bannu district;—Major-General Webber Desborough Harris, late commanding the 104th Bengal Fusiliers (Panjab campaign 1848-49, Indian mutiny);—Major-General Dawsonne Melancthon Strong, C.B., late Bengal army (Abyssinian war 1868, Afghan war 1879-80);—Colonel John Leslie Moore (Crimea and Mutiny);—Mr. Henry Godfréy Astell, one of the oldest members of the India Civil Service (Indian Mutiny);—Captain Ganda Singh, Sardar Bahadur, Risaldar-Major of the 19th Bengal Lancers, and formerly Native A.D.C. to Lord Roberts (North-West Frontier, Mutiny, China 1860, Afghan campaign); Admiral the Hon. Fitzgerald Algernon Charles Foley (Syria 1840, China, Coast of Morocco, etc.);—Captain Derbyshire, 5th Dragoon Guards;—Rev. Father Hilary, Vicar-General, Archdiocese of Agra;—Lieutenant-General the Hon. Charles Wemyss Thesiger (China 1860);—Lieutenant-Colonel C. R. Franklin, late of the Royal Artillery (Crimean and Mutiny campaigns, China 1860);—Dr. J. Iver Murray, late Colonial Surgeon of Hong Kong;—Admiral Ralph Peter Cator (Black Sea, China 1858);—Mr. M. H. Starling, the oldest member of the Bombay Bar;—Rear-Admiral Archibald George Bogle (Baltic, China 1857-59);—Surgeon-Major-General Thomas Norton Hoysted (China 1857, Mutiny campaign, Afghan war 1878-79);—Major-General Sir Edward Andrew Steuart, Colonel of the Royal Scots (Lothian Regiment) (Crimea, China 1860);—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Edward Wheler, commanding 1st Royal Sussex Regiment in India;—Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Henry Frederick White, D.S.O., late of the Grenadier Guards (Sudan campaign 1885, South African campaign 1899-1902);—Colonel Frederick Harcourt Williamson, formerly of the 1st Battalion East Lancashire Regiment (suppression of Fenian Raid in Canada 1866);—"Colonel" Shiel, a German volunteer on the Boer side during the early days of the late Boer war;—Lieutenant-General C. B. Ewart, C.B., Colonel of the Royal Engineers (Crimea, Boer war 1881, Sudan expedition 1855);—Major-General William Thomas Freke Farewell, formerly of the Madras Staff Corps (Mutiny campaign);—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Balguy (Kafir war 1846-47, Crimea);—Mr. P. C. Mukherji of the Archæological Survey of India;—Sir John Muir of the well-known firm of Finlay, Muir and Co., of Calcutta and Ceylon;—Nawab Sir Iman Bakhsh Khan, K.C.I.E., Chief of the Mazari tribe of the Dera Ghazi Khan district, and member of the Panjab Legislative Council;—Mr. James Casamajor Robertson, late of the Bengal Civil Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel John Murray (Crimea);—Captain Harold William Ravenshill, R.G.A., South Africa 1899-1900);—The Rev. Albert Peter Neele, a Church missionary in

Bengal from 1852 to 1877;—Lieutenant McNee, I.M.S., in China;—Mr. Narhari Row, formerly Judge of the Chief Court of Maisur;—Major-General Robert Horsley Ricketts Rowley, late R.A. (Kafir war 1851-53, China 1860);—Dr. W. S. Playfair, in India during the Mutiny;—Major-General Edward Morris Cherry, late of the 1st Regiment Madras Light Cavalry (Afghan war 1878-80);—Professor Friedrich Dieterici, a well-known Orientalist;—Lady Le Marchant, widow of General Sir G. Le Marchant, formerly Commander-in-Chief in Madras;—Staff-Commander John Waye (Borneo expedition 1846, Crimea, West Indies);—Mr. Edgar Whitaker, at Constantinople, editor and proprietor of the *Levant Herald*;—Colonel Theophilus Higginson, C.B., Indian Staff Corps (North-West Frontier expedition 1869, Afghan war 1878-79, Waziri expedition 1881);—Colonel Robert Martin Barklie, late R.E. (Nile expedition 1884-85);—Dr. Charles Hathaway, formerly Assistant-Surgeon of the Hon. East India Company's Service, and afterwards private secretary to Lord Lawrence, 1863 (Sutlej campaign and Mutiny);—Mr. Henry Jeffreys Bushby, entered Bengal Civil Service (Hon. East India Company) in 1839, and became assistant to Governor-General's Agent for Rajputana;—Rear-Admiral the Hon. Albert Denison Somerville Denison (China 1856);—Lieutenant J. F. Renton-Pixley, 3rd Battalion King's Royal Rifles (South African war 1901-02);—Major Henry Albert Thorne, of the West African Regiment (Ashanti expedition 1895, Gold Coast 1898, Ashanti 1900, Gambia 1901, South African war, Remount Department);—Mr. C. G. Luzac, head of the well-known Oriental publishing and bookselling firm of Luzac and Co.;—Professor William Hastie, formerly Principal of the General Assembly's Institution and College at Calcutta;—Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas William Patterson, D.S.O., R.A.M.C., retired (Afghan war 1878, Sudan expedition 1885, Burma 1886-87);—Captain Reginald Morton Barff, of the 45th Bengal Infantry (North-West Frontier campaign, Tirah expeditionary force 1897-98);—Mr. Robert Francis Burton, late of the 102nd Regiment (Madras Fusiliers) (Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-59);—Her Highness Khair-ul-Nissa Begum Sahiba of Carnatic, widow of Nawab Muhammad Ghulam Ghaus Khan, Bahadur, the last titular Nawab of Carnatic;—Major-General John Macdonald (Panjab campaign 1848-49, Lushai expedition 1872-73);—Major-General William Hill, C.B., Indian Army (Afghan war 1878-80, Manipur expedition 1891, Tirah campaign 1897-98);—Captain Thomas Leslie Slingsby, late of the Royal Horse Guards;—Staff-Surgeon William Job Maillard, V.C., R.N., retired (Candia 1898);—Colonel T. Valentine Cooke (China 1857-59);—Mr. John Pitt Kennedy, formerly of the Calcutta Bar, and afterwards Recorder of Rangoon, and Standing Counsel to the Government of India;—Major-General the Hon. Charles John Addington (Crimea and Mutiny);—Major Horace R. F. Anderson, of the Supply and Transport Corps (Sudan 1885, Hazara expedition);—Rev. Father F. Dennis, the Bishop-Elect of Coimbatore.

September 15, 1903.





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